



Æsculapius hic Librorum arugo, Vetustas  
Per quem nulla potest Britonum consumere chartas.  
T. Crisp. Ruff. sc.



Esculapius hic Librorum arugo, Vetustas  
 Per quem nulla potest Britonum consumere chartas.  
 T. Crisp. Rulph.



A  
DISCOURSE  
OF  
**Foreign War:**

With an  
ACCOUNT  
Of all the

Taxations upon this Kingdom, from the Con-  
quest to the End of the Reign of

Queen ELIZABETH.

Also a List of the Confederates from

HENRY I.  
TO THE

End of the Reign of the said Queen; shewing  
which have prov'd most Beneficial to *England.*

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Formerly Written by Sir *Robert Cotton* Barronet, and  
now Published by Sir *John Cotton* Barronet.

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L O N D O N,

Printed for *Henry Mortlock*, at the *Phoenix* in *St. Paul's Church-*  
*yard*, and at the *White-Hart* in *Westminster-Hall.* 1690.

DISCOURSE

OF

Foreign Barons

IN



Transactions of the House of Commons from the Con-

clusion of the Reign of

Queen Elizabeth

THE

TO THE

End of the Reign of the said Queen; showing  
which have proved most beneficial to England

Formerly written by Sir Robert Cotton Baron, and  
now Translated by Sir John Cotton Baron.

LONDON

Printed for Henry Munn at the Press in St. Pauls Church-  
yard, and at the New-Store in Newmarket-Hall, 1690.



THE  
P R E F A C E  
TO THE  
R E A D E R.

**S**O strange a desire and itch of writing, doth possess the greatest part of the world; and men are so in love with their own imaginations, that they would have their follies engraved in Brass and Marble. Upon this account the learned and most ingenious Physician in Sr. Tho. Brown that incomparable piece of his Religio Medici hath these words; "I have heard some with deep sighs lament the lost times of Cicero; others with as many groans deplore the combustion of the Library of Alexandria: for my own part, I think there be too many in the world, and could with patience behold the Urn and Ashes of the Vatican, could I, with a few others, recover the perished leaves of Solomon. 'Tis not a melancholy Ulinam of my own, but the desires of better heads, that there were a general Synod; not to unite the incompatible difference of Religion, but for the benefit of Learning, to reduce it as it lay at first, in a few and solid Authors, and to condemn to the fire those swarms  
"and

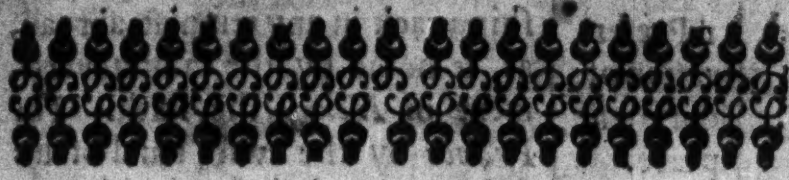


"and millions of Rhapsodies, begotten only to di-  
 "strait and abuse the weaker judgement of Scho-  
 "lars, and to maintain the trade and mysterie of  
 "Typographers. What a multitude of books  
 (ὅσα ἱαμαδὸς τε, κόνις τε) concerning the  
 controversies in Religion between us and the  
 Romanists hath invaded the world; and to use  
 Homer's words, ἐπὶ οὐδ' ὅτι πολὺς νομὸς ἐνθάδ' ἔνθα;  
 But of these (excepting some few) as  
 for examp'le, that of the Archbishop Laud's against  
 Fisher, Mr. Chillingworth against Knot, The  
 Author of Via Recta, and Via Devia, and that  
 incomparable pair of learned men Dr. Stilling-  
 fleet and Dr. Tillotson, with the most Learned  
 and Pious Dr. Hammond against that Pest and  
 καὶ θάνατος of Mankind, Serjeant) the Major part,  
 are (as he saith) a spurious brood, the laborious  
 effects of ease and idleness, not worthy the Vacant  
 hours of a serious person. Having said this it  
 may justly be objected against me, why I by put-  
 ting forth this Book, should help to encrease this  
 Epidemical disease. To this I answer: 1. I re-  
 ceived some encouragement by the general favour  
 and acceptance which the world was pleas'd to give  
 to this small Treatise. 2. My pious affection and  
 Duty to the Author did inflame my desires to pro-  
 pagate his Name (as much as in me lay) to Poste-  
 rity. 3. Being but a small Book it was secure  
 from that censure, μίχα βιβλίον, μίχα κακόν. If  
 this little Treatise may find not only pardon, but  
 some acceptance, from those few of the more know-  
 ing persons, I have obtain'd my design: To please  
 all I know is impossible;

Οὐδ' ὅτι πάντας ἀνδραί, ὅτι ἀνέχων.

John Cotton:





PROPOSITIONS  
OF  
WAR and PEACE  
Delivered to His Highness  
PRINCE HENRY  
By some of his Military servants.

*Arguments for War.*



*Reasons of Policy*, as well as works of Nature, (a) are best preserved from the same grounds they were first founded on. By *Armes* was laid the foundation of this State, whether we respect the *Saxon* or the *Norman*. It was War that of seven Crowns in the *Heptarchy* made one fit for that *Monarchy*, that since by many glorious exploits hath made good in foreign parts the renown of her own greatness, and crowned thereby this State with an eternal peace. Times nor our own vertues are not changed: Necessity, Benefit, and Facility of War being the same that they were before to our forefathers.

(a) *Panſe & Hirtii conſilia um Caſari.*

B

We

## Reasons for forraign wars.

(a) *Velleius Paterculus.*

## Reasons of forraign War drawn from

## I. Necessity, for

1. Prefer-  
vation of  
our own  
peace.2. Vent-  
ing of fa-  
ctionous  
spirits.

We never were so near peril by shipwreck in any tempest abroad, as at home by the calm government of *Henry* the sixth. For *France* by the awful hand of his father reduced, it fared with us as with the mistress of the world, (a) *Remoto Carthaginis metu, & Imperii amula*, when the fear of *Carthage* her competitor for the Empire was removed, that fell not by degrees, but *Præcipiti cursu ab Armis ad voluptates, a negotio ad otium*, rushed headlong from arms to pleasures, from employment to idleness. And from hence as greatest Nations, *cum ab externis causis tuta videntur, ipsa suis viribus onerantur*, when there is no longer fear of forraign enemies, their own strength becomes a burthen to them: so after many conquests abroad, we were at home prest down with the unnatural weight of civil arms: For *cum foris non habent hostem, domi inveniunt*, when people have no enemies abroad, they'll find some at home; as all warlike and fruitful Nations will, not otherwise delivered either of their humours or people. To add to this necessity, the sending away of our factious spirits, it will remove the seat of blood from our own doors,

# Reasons for forraign Wars.

3

3 Instruct-  
ing in arms  
our people.

doors, and prove the cheapest school to train up in arms the better dispositions, whose military skill may after serve to defend the State; & by the late accession of another Nation will be now more needful, (a) *Ne no-* a *Ta-*  
*uus populus otio & nimia pecu-* cit.  
*nia lasciviret,* lest that other *An-*  
people should grow wanton *10.*  
through too much wealth and idleness, and we in the end enforced with the Satyrist (b) to b *Ju-*  
confess, *re. al.*

*Nunc patimur longa pacis mala, se-*  
*tior armis*

*Luxuria incubuit*—

We suffer now the harm of a long peace,

Whil' st Riot, worse than war, doth thus increase.

1 Spoil  
of the  
Enemy.  
2 Addi-  
tion of Re-  
venue by  
subjected  
territo-  
ries.

The benefits arise from Profit and Honour. The Spoils we have brought away in our *French & Spanish* attempts exceeding ever the charge in getting; and the *Revenues* of the subjected Signiories, as *Normandy, Aquitain,* &c. supporting with much and vantage the expence in keeping: Our *Honour*, as the Stile of our Kings, by confluence of so many Titles increased; & by accession of so many Territories as we held in *France*, our Dominions and liberties so far enlarged.

1 Title.

2 Domi-  
nion.

1 Wealth, by

2 Honor, by addition of

2 Benefits.

B 2

3. A



3. A more  
facility  
to effect  
than  
hereto-  
fore, by

1 Additi-  
on of new  
strength.  
2 Substra-  
ction of  
diversions

The facility to effect this  
being now more than ever by  
the addition of strength, and  
subtraction of diversions, in  
this happy union of the *Brit-  
tain Empire.*



AN ANSWER  
TO THE  
FORMER  
Arguments made by the command  
OF HIS  
HIGHNESS.



As he can give best Rules to preserve  
the health of a body natural, that  
by observing the divers humours,  
accidents and dispositions thereof,  
findeth at length the cause from  
whence it is or well or ill-affected, and so by mix-  
ture of Art and Observation sets to his Patient rules  
of exercise and dyet : so is it in a Kingdom or  
Commonwealth. If then out of the Registers of  
Record and Story, the true Remembrancers of Art  
and Errour in passages of State, it shall appear  
that



## Answers to the former Arguments.

1 Affections  
of our wisest  
Princes ever  
to peace.

## 2 Forraign expeditions

1 Rebel-  
lions at  
home.

## 2 Cause of

3 Confe-  
deracy &  
alliance  
the means  
of former  
victories,  
no ways to  
be resto-  
red as  
hereto-  
fore.

## 3 Danger to the State. 2 Vassalage. 1 Endles taxations.

that those times which have been glorified with the mightiest Princes and wisest Councils, would ever acknowledge that (a) *Pax una triumphis Innume- (a) Sil. Ital. lib. 11.* ris prior; one Peace outgoes for worth Innumerable triumphs; That Combustions at home were like Meteors, ever kindled in another Region, but spent themselves there; That our men instead of *Lawrel* and *Olive Garlands* to adorn with victory and peace our Gates and Temples, have ever brought home fire-balls to burn our Cities; That forraign spoils have been summed up with *Taxes* and *Penury*; That this addition of *Revenue* hath tyed us to a perpetual issue of our own Treasure; That by these titles of *Honour* we have bought *Slavery*, and by *extenture* of *Territories*, Danger; And that difficulty either to undertake or pursue any forraign enterprise now is much more than in any age before; I think that no *Englishman* will either love his own error so much, or his Countrey so little, as to advise a course so far estranged either from judgement or security.

Examples of  
the affection  
of our Kings  
succesfully  
to Peace.

(a) *Benedictus  
Monachus in  
vita H. 2.*

(b) *Ex Matth.  
Paris pag. 214.*

(c) *Rog. Hove-  
den.*

(d) *Ex aidi-  
tam. Prosperi  
Aquitania  
Episc.*

(e) *Rot. Claus.  
anno secundo  
E. 3. m. 11.*

IT is manifest by warrant of our own exam-  
ples, that the Kings of *England*, except in some  
heat of Youth, which is not the best director of  
Counsel ) preferred unjust Peace before the just-  
est War : none inthralling their minds with am-  
bitious desires of extending *Territories*, or imagi-  
nary humours of licentious Sovereignty ; every  
one willing to pass his time with content of his  
private fortunes. Upon this ground *Henry* the se-  
cond gave 20000 marks (a) *Expensarum nomine*,  
under the notion of expences, to the *French* King,  
*ut firmior Pax haberetur*, that he might have a  
firm and settled Peace. His succeeding son *pro*  
*quieta clamazione de sorore sua ducenda*, for a  
peaceable claim to the marriage of his sister, which  
was like to make a fraction, gave to the *French*  
King (b) *decem millia librarum*, ten thousand  
pounds. Three hundred thousand marks *John*  
gave to the *French* King, to match his calm en-  
trance to a secure peace. Until the Confederacy  
with (c) *Scotland*, and invading of the Land by  
*Charls de Valois* the *French* King provoked  
*Edward* the first, he never disquieted *France*  
with noise of war, as after he did by the (d) *Earls*  
of *Richmond* and *Lancaster*, although *Boniface*  
the Pope incited him thereunto. His Son, the  
second *Edward*, anno 2. requireth the Bishops  
and Clergy to pray and offer alms for him, and  
the people of this State ; the words are, (e) *ut De-*  
*us nos regat & dirigat in mundi hujus turbini-*  
*buss*, that God would rule and direct us in the  
troubles of this world ; for that having fought all  
means with *France* he could for Peace, *ut Guer-*  
*rarum discrimina vitaret*, that he might avoid  
the dangers of war, he reaped nothing but bitter-  
ness,

ness, and detention of his Messengers, Son, and part of his *Dutchy of Gascoigne*, his Rebels injoying all Protection, and his Merchants all Inhospitallity, whose ships his enemy *hostiliter cepit, & Mercatores interfecit*, took in a hostile sort. and slew the Merchants. The Parliament *quinto* of Edward 3. (a) was especially called to consult how Peace might be procured. In his 17 year (b) the Peers and Commons petition him to labour a peace with *France*, and to sollicite the Pope for mediation. The truce from hence effected he would by no means violate, but in the twentieth year moveth peace by all the offers he (c) can, as *Contracts, Intermarriage*, and to take up the Cross with *France*, in *succursum Terræ Sanctæ*, for succour of the Holy Land. But all he could do could abate no whit of the *French* fury, (d) who invaded by themselves *Aquitain, England* by the Scots, surprizing in breach of Truce his Nobility of *Britain*, whom at *Paris ignominiosa morti tradidit*, he put to shameful deaths; there and in *Gascoign* murdering the rest of his Subjects, and rasing his Castles nor would upon a second meditation admit any way of peace. War then was left his last refuge; (e) *Et pia Armagibus nulla nisi in Armis spes est*, War is to that man just and lawful, who hath no hope of help but by war. And this his Clergy was injoynd to open in Sermons, that he might eschew the infamy of *Christian* blood-shed. In his two and twentieth year finding war to have brought to his people (f) *gravia onera & multa mala*, heavy burthens and many mischiefs, as the Record saith, and that the fortune of War *cum splendet frangitur*, when it shineth clearest is

(a) Ex Rot.

Par. anno

5 Ed. 3. n. r.

(b) Ex Rotul.

Parl. anno

17 E. 3.

(c) Ex Rot.

Francie an.

19. m. 10.

(d) Ex Rot.

claus. in dorso

20 E. 3. m. 16.

part. 1.

(e) Liv. lib. 9.

(f) Rot. claus.

anno 2 Ed. 3.



(a) *Dors. Claus.*  
*an. 22 Ed. 3.*  
*m. 11.*  
*Similiter 8*  
*R. 2. Claus.*  
*m. 34.*

(b) *Rot. Parl.*  
*anno 25 E. 3.*

(c) *Rot. Parl.*  
*anno 28 E. 3.*

(d) *Rot. Parl.*  
*anno 29 E. 3.*

(e) *Liv. l. 5.*  
*Dec. 5.*

then nearest breaking; he passed over into France to seek peace divers times; and to strengthen his affections with the best hopes, he injoyneth all the Bishops of England to offer (a) *devotas preces suppliciter ad Deum*, humble and devout prayers to God, to direct his actions to Gods glory and the peace of his Countrey, *nec non ad totius Christianitatis commodum*, and the advantage of the whole Christian world; which he believed could not follow but by a firm amity with his neighbours. This is the dislike of war he openeth himself in the five and twentieth year (b) in Parliament, declaring the great means he had wrought by the Pope, but could not effect it: And in the third year after (c) calleth again the body of the State, to devise with him the means to obtain it; for that he saw his Subjects by war so greatly wasted. But (d) when anno 29. to redeem himself and subjects from the hard tasks they had undertaken, and to avoid *effusionem sanguinis Christiani*, quantum potuit, vel decuit, *pacem quaesivit*, the shedding of Christian blood, he sought peace as much as in him lay, and as far as was fitting, sending the Duke of Lancaster to Avignon in intercession, but all in vain; he stood upon his own strength. By which his confident adversary (the year following captive) that was afore obdurate, justly found, that one hour can overthrow *simul parva & sperata decora*, at once both the honours we enjoy and those we hope for. And we may truly conclude of this Kings success, as Livy (e) of the Roman fortune, *Propere bella felicia gessisse, quia iusta*, that therefore his wars were prosperous, because they were just.



To obtain his desire and Subjects quiet, he was contented to disclaim (a) the interest that Right and Fortune had cast upon him. And after, though often again incited, yet never would be drawn to the hazard of war; for *improbe Neptunum accusat qui iterum naufragium facit*, he blames Neptune very unjustly who suffers shipwrack the second time: until the French King (b) contra-  
*ra juramentum & formam pacis*, contrary to his oath and the form of peace, had *vexillis explicatis* with banners displayed, invaded his dominions in France, and with a Fleet intended to attempt England, *ad ipsum Regem viribus subvertendum*, utterly to undo the King by force of Arms.

(a) Ex Chart. origin. de renunciat. in Thesaur.

(b) Claus. anno 45 E. 3.

Richard the second, whom as well he left Successeur to his troubles as to his Kingdom, entered in the decline of his Grandfires fortune, and after many years of war and much loss, had in the end an expectation of peace; which opened to his Commons and Council in Parliament, (c) their longing affection was so much inclined thereto, that they advised the King, though it were in doing homage for Guien, Callis and the rest, he should not let slip that opportunity.

(c) Rot. Parl. anno 7 R. 2. n. 17.

Until Charles of France had received (d) that dangerous Rebel Owen Glendowr, by the name of *Metuendissimi Principis Wallie*, the most dread Prince of Wales, into a strict confederacy against his Master (whom he vouchsafed no other title than *Henricus de Lancastria*) by contract, and had harrowed the Isle of Wight by the Duke of Orleans and Earl of Saint Paul, entered into Gascoign himself, and prepared a Fleet and an Army to invade this Land, Henry the

(d) Ex contract. origin. inter Owynum Glendowr & Regem Francia.

(a) Rot. Parl.  
anno 11 Hen.  
4. n. 2.

the fourth did never disquiet his peace ; and after many prorogued Truces, would not break out again, until *Burgundy* (a) (that had wrested into his hand the Government of *France*) meant with all his force to besiege *Calis*, and annoy this Realm.

(b) Rot. Parl.  
an. 4 Hen. 5.

The Uncle and *Chancellour* to *Henry* the fifth declared in (b) Parliament the desire his Majesty had to procure Peace, and how the *French* King had refused all reason, denying to render his prisoners, or ransom those taken at *Agincourt* battel : so that the King was driven to his last hope, which was by dint of sword to seek his peace, concluding thus his speech ; *Bella faciamus ut Pacem habeamus, quia finis Belli Pax est*. Let us fight, that we may obtain peace ; for the end of war is peace.

(c) Rot. Parl.  
anno 14 H. 6.  
n. 2.

*Henry* the sixth, to save the expence of his people and treasure, offered (c) many large and liberal conditions, but received in exchange nothing but scoffs ; he was contented to part with the *Dutchy* of *Mayne*, to make up a peace with his uncle of *France*.

(d) Ex Artic.  
in Consilio contra D. Somerset.

Against the Duke of *Somerset* it was objected (d) by the Duke of *York*, that he (contrary to the Oath and Council, by breaking the Amity between the two Princes) was the only ground of the loss of *Normandy*.

(e) Int. Record.  
Thes. Westm.

There is extant in the Treasury (e) a petition of 9 Hen. 7. from the Captains and military men, *pro pace habenda*, that they might have peace.

(f) Ex Bulla  
Pap. H. 8.

Neither interest of right, nor jealousie of increasing power, could draw *Henry* 8. unto the quarrel of *France* ; until the Church complained against *Lewis* 12. ((f) who neither esteeming

of God, good fame, nor conscience, detained  
the revenues of the Clergy, supported the Cardi-  
nal *William* to aspire to the *Papacy*, aided in the  
Siege of *Boucy* *Alfonso* of *Ferrara*, and the *Ben-  
ivogli*, both Traytors to the *Papal* See, where  
he intended to lay the foundation of his Empire  
to usurp all *Italy*,) and besought him for the pitty  
of our *Saviour*; and by the virtue of his famous  
Ancestors (for I use the words of the *Popes* Brief)  
(a) that never forsook the Church of God in di-  
stress, and by his filial obedience, (the strongest  
bond) to enter into that holy *League*, they having  
elected him against *Lewis*, *Caput fœderis Italici*,  
Head of the *Italian* League.

*Edward* the sixth, (b) until urged with the touch  
of his honour, being by his neighbours neglected  
in the marriage of their Mistress, never attempted  
any war against them.

The quarrels of *France* in the time of his suc-  
ceeding sister, after the marriage with *Spain*, were  
neither properly ours, nor begun by us, although  
in the end we only went away with the loss.

Her Sister of holy memory, to effect the peace  
with *France*, forbore (c) the demand of *Callis* for  
eight years, and neglected to urge a just debt of four  
millions from that Crown. (d) And the labours she  
spent to confirm amity with *Spain*, by many  
friendly offices of mediation, are apparent to the  
whole world; though in the end of her desires she  
failed: whether happily in prevention of the *Spa-  
nish* Monarchy eternizing her memory, or that  
this work of peace was by divine providence re-  
served for him that could and hath best effected  
it, I know not. Only I conclude, that as the  
first Monarch in *Rome*, so the first in *Britain*  
might

(a) *Ex tracta-  
tu origin. in  
l. B. 266.*

(b) *Ex procla.  
E. 6. de expe-  
ditione contra  
Scotos.*

(c) *Ex tract.  
Cambrensi.  
1569.  
(d) Ex procl.  
anno 3. Eliz.*



might justly write, *Pace Populo Britanno terrarumque partibus, Janum clausi*, having settled Britain in peace by Land and sea, I have shut up the door of *Janus* Temple.

Forraign arms the ground of trouble at home, by the

Enemy who to divert will attempt.

Subjects.

wearied with Toyl.  
Taxation.  
Feared with the effect of tyranny.  
Inured to wars can never sute after to a quiet life.

It is evident by our own examples, that for the most part, the Civil or Forraign Armies that have oppressed this State, have been either bred out of our first attempting of others, or out of the grievance of the Nobility and people, either wearied with the toil and charge, or feared with the effect of Tyranny, which might corrupt the good fortune of their King, or else (a plague no less of war) that the better sort inured to command abroad, have forgotten to obey at home, and the inferiour by living there upon rapine and purchase, unwilling here to tye themselves again to order and industry.

Examples of Invasion drawn from the attempts of others.

There is in the Register of State no time that so well expresseth either the danger or damage we underwent in making an adversary, as that of *Edward* the third. Out of many examples I will select some few, beginning with the tenth of his reign; at what time his intention was to attempt somewhat in *France*, but diverted by *Philip*, who, mustering in *partibus Britannia ad invadendum*



*addendum Regnum Anglia*, in the parts of Britany to invade the Kingdom of England, a puissant Army, enforced Edward the third to fall from his first purpose, and insist upon his own guard: for which cause, to the infinite charge of himself and people, he levied 80000. men out of the Shires of this Kingdom. To withdraw his forces from France, in the thirteenth of his reign, they invaded the Realm, and burned the Towns of Plymouth and Southampton, places that suffered from the same motive the like calamity.

*Ex Rot. Scotia  
anno 10 E. 3.  
m. 14.*

In the first of Richard the second, after the Battel of Cressy, when they feared our too much footing, and we too much believed our own fortune, for she *cito reposcit quod dedit*, quickly calls for back what she gave us; the (a) Duke of (a) *Rot. Parl.* Normandy, to draw home our forces, levieth an Army of forty thousand men at armes, and forty thousand foot, sharing by idle contracts beforehand with his Confederates not the spoils only, but the Kingdom it self: the Honour and some other portion of benefits he reserved as his own meed; the possessions of many English Subjects in pure alms he voweth to the Church of Normandy, and to the French King an yearly tributary Fee of twenty thousand pound. In these terms this Realm stood almost all the time of Edward the third.

The Coast-dwellers were so frighted from their habitation, as in the thirteenth year the King commanded the Earl of Richmond (b) and other (b) *Rot. Franc.  
in dorso. 22  
E. 3. m. 6.* Peers to reside at their border houses; and was enforced in the two and twentieth to injoyn by Ordinance, that none should remove that dwelt within

within *sex leucas à mari*, six leagues of the Sea.

It was no whit altered under his successour *Richard the second*; for in his entrance the *French* burnt the Town of *Rye*, and in the third year after *Gravesend*. And in the tenth year of his reign, to change his intended journey for *France* in person, the *French King* prepareth an Army to invade this Land. This quarrel led us almost into an eternal charge at Sea, and in the Northern limits, they and our Neighbours there being ryed of old in strict assurance of mutual aid: by whose desperate and perpetual incursion (for *nescit Plebs jejuna timere*, an half-starved rabble fears nothing,) the fattest parts of our borders were left waste, the men and cattle of *England* (as 16. of *Edw. 2.*) *impetitus Scotorum fugientes*, being fled for safety to the Forrests and desert places. The like I find in the first of *Edward the third*: they ever thus interrupting us in our expeditions into *France*; as in 20 *Ed. 3.* and in the first and second of *Richard the second*, in the fifth of *Henry the fifth*, and in the fourth of *Henry the eighth*, when he undertook his holy voyage against *Lewis the twelfth*.

And either being no less ready to nourish the least spark of Rebellion in this State, as that of the *French King* to counterpoize King *John*; or work out *Henry the third* from his *Dutchy of Normandy*, as *France* did; or moving underhand by the *Duke of Britain*, the *Earl of Hartford* to reach the Crown of *Richard the second*, and when he had got the Garland, suborning *Owen Glendowr* (with whom he contracted as *Prince of Wales*) to busie the same King at home, that he might divert his intended purpose from *France* or *Scotland*.

When

When Henry the third had devoured in his mind the Kingdom of Sicily, the Nobility finding the expence of Treasure, and fearing the exposing of their own persons, grew so unwilling, that by the bent and course of the record it appeareth (a) not the least ground of that rebellion which after drew the King and his Son to so foul conditions.

Nobility in dislike of forraign expeditions have rebelled.

(a) Ex Rot. pat. & claus. de annis 40, 41, 42 Hen. 3.

A judgement there must be between powers and undertakings, that though affections may carry a man to great things, they make him not attempt impossible: for where great minds are not accompanied with great judgements, they overthrow themselves. As in this Prince, who by the Popes incitement *simplicitatem Regis circumveniens*, circumventing the King in his honest meaning, (they are the words of the Author (b)) intending to rifle the fortunes of others, was in the end enforced to play at dice for his own stake.

(b) *Comini censura de com. char. cap. 8.*

The Earls of Hartford, Bohun and Bigot, made the grounds of their commotions the distaste they took at Edward the first for exacting their Service in the quarrel of Gascoign, a forraign Countrey. And they might seem to have some colour to refuse, but in a more mannerly fashion, either attendance or charge in recovery or defence of Provinces in France, since so many consents in Parliament as (c) the twentieth of Rich. the second, the sixth and ninth of Henry the fourth, the first and seventh of Henry the fifth affirm the Commons not to be bound *pour supporter ses Guerres en la terre de France ou Normandie*, to support his wars either in France or Normandy; declaring no less by publick protestation, than they did by undutiful denial.

Burthen of personal service grievous.

(c) Ex Rot. Parl. de annis 20 Rich. 2. 6. & 9 Hen. 4. 1. & 7 Hen. 5.

For



Burthen of charge grievous, ground of much trouble and oppression.

(a) *Cicero Epist. ad Att. lib. 5.*

(b) *Ex Radulpho Gogeshal. de anno 8 Joannis.*

(c) *Ex Matth. westm.*

(d) *Ex Matth. Paris hist. minori.*

(e) *Ex Matth. Paris hist. m. p. 780.*

For the burden of *Charge*, it was no less distasteful than the former of *Service*, this Kingdom being (as it is said (a) of the *Roman* Provinces occasioned by war) made desert, and the people desperate by *Exactions*. In the Conquerours time the Bishop of *Durham* was killed by the tumultuous people, opposing an imposition levied by him. There was (b) *murmuratio & imprecatio Prelatorum in Regem Joannem*, mutterings and curses from the Prelates against King *John*, for demanding in the eighth of his reign a relief of them and the Laity for his wars. In the sixteenth year *Cives Londinenses Joannem odio habuerunt pro injustis Exactionibus quibus Regnum fatigaverat*, the *Londoners* detested King *John* for his tiring out the Kingdom with unjust taxations.

(c) The sink of his expence in war was so bottomless, that (as the story saith) he was constrained *deservire quotidie cum incremento*, to grow every day more unreasonable in his carriage towards the Church and Commonwealth, *eas bonis suis variis modis spoliando*, by despoiling them several wayes of their goods. (d) *Hinc secutum est Bellum inter Regem & Barones quod cum morte Joannis solum finem habuit*: This was it which kindled that war betwixt the King and his Barons, which nothing could quench but the death of *John* himself.

In the twenty sixth of *Henry* the third, *ob exactionum frequentiam est Regi cum Baronibus contentio*, by reason of the continual exactions there arose a contention betwixt the King and his Barons (e). At the Parlee of peace with them being demanded a reason of that their action, they answer that since he came to the Crown, being not twelve

twelve years, *multoties ei auxilium dederunt*, they had many times supplied him; and expressing the particulars besides in the same place, he had received *tot Escheatas*, so many Escheats, by the vacancy of rich *Bishopricks*, death of so many *Barons* and others that held of him, that those alone would have made him rich if they had been well employed. That the *Itinerant Justices* had by amercing the defaults gleaned them so near, that *per illa amerciamenta & alia Auxilia prius data omnes de Regno ita gravarentur & depauperarentur, ut parum aut nihil habeant in Bonis*, by those Amercements and the Subsidies they had formerly given him, all the Kingdom was so crushed and impoverished, that they had little or nothing left them. And that was the ground of their resistance. (a) *Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis & alii Prelati resistunt Regi*, the Archbishop of *Eversden*. Canterbury and other Prelates resist the King, when in his fifteenth year he demanded *Scutage*. And although he laid open to the Parliament his great debt *causa bellica expeditionis in partibus transmarinis*, occasioned by his forraign expeditions, was answered by *Rannulph Earl of Chester*, the mouth of the Laity, That in the former Aides *Pecuniam suam effuderunt, quod inde pauperes omnes recesserunt, unde Regi de jure auxilium non debebant*, they had poured out their money so liberally, as that being all impoverished by it, they were not obliged to assist him any farther. And thus (b) dissolved the Parliament.

The Clergy of the Realm in the twenty fourth of Edward the first denied the demand of *Contribution* (c) *in expeditionem Regis contra Gallos & ad reprimendos Scotos*, towards the Kings expedition

(b) Ex hist.  
Matth. Paris  
pag. 32.

(c) Ex Matth.  
westm. walt.  
Gisborn.

dition against the French, and the repressing of the Scots. And obbas crebras exactiones magnus fuit multus inter Regem & Barones, by reason of these frequent extorsions, there arose a great difference betwixt the King and the Barons.

One of the Articles of treason objected against (a) *Rot. Claus. Mortimer* (a) in Parliament in the fourth of Edward the third, was the offence he bred in the Commonwealth, by causing a Subsidie to be exacted. This humour of the people did somewhat suit with that of the Inhabitants of Trevers, (b) who stoned to death Proclerus for perswading Theoderet the Goth to crave a Subsidy.

(c) *Rot. Alm. m. 22.*

(d) *Tho. Walsingham.*

*Rot. Parl.*

*anno 44 E. 3.*

(e) *Rot. Alm. 12 E. 3. m. 22.*

The Clergy in the twelfth of Edward the third, (c) deny such a grant of their Wools as the Laity had yielded to, for supplying the King in his affairs of France. The like answer they make the forty fourth of the same King, when he (d) demanded in Parliament a Subsidy of them and the Commons of 100000*l.* And the same King grown doubtful of his people prest down with Impositions, requireth the Archbishop, (e) *Quod cum Populus Regni sui variis Oneribus, Tallagiis & Impositionibus prae-gravetur, ut idem Archiepisc. Indulgentiarum muneribus, piis Exhortationibus, & aliis modis, eundem Populum placare studeat, & ipsum Regem excuset,* that since the Subjects of his Kingdom were over-charged with many Burthens, Tallages, and other Impositions, the said Archbishop would by grant of Indulgences, seasonable Exhortations, and other ways endeavour to pacifie the people, and excuse the King.

By reason of the *Census per Capita*, Pol-money imposed by Parliament in the third of Richard the second to defray the wars in France, there were



here (a) *dire imprecationes in Regem, & magna*  
*post perturbationes in Regno ex Plebis insurre-*  
*ctione,* heavy and bitter imprecations against  
the King, which were followed with great trou-  
bles in the Nation by the insurrection of the  
Commons. And as well in the reign of this  
King, as some other of his Predecessours and Suc-  
cessours, the Parliament was so tender in grant of  
Subsidy and other Taxes, that they added into their  
Act, (b) *quod non trabatur in consequentiam,* that  
it should be no example for the future, appointing  
peculiar Treasurers of their own to give account  
upon Oath the next Parliament: and such Grants,  
which they professed to proceed (c) *ex libera &*  
*spontanea voluntate Dominorum & Comitatum,*  
from the free and voluntary grant of the Lords and  
respective Counties, to be void if Conditions on  
the Kings part were not performed. And this un-  
fortunate King had cast upon him as an argument  
of his unworthiness to govern, the exacting of so  
great Subsidies, and extorting so much money from  
the Shires that submitted their Fortunes unto his  
mercy.

(a) Ex Rot.  
Par. de an. 2, 3,  
5, 7, 8, & 9  
R. 2. & Claus.  
anno 2. E. 2.

(b) Ex Chroni  
S. Albani.

(c) Rot. Parl.  
anno 1 H. 4.

And when Henry the sixth in anno 20. would  
have had a Relief from his Subjects (d) *de aliqua*  
*summa notabili,* of some considerable sum; he  
had in answer, *Propter inopiam, &c. populi il-*  
*lud non posse obtineri,* that in regard of the pover-  
ty, &c. of the people it could not be granted. The  
like in the twenty fourth of the same King. Great  
men have been disposed sometimes to humour  
the waste of Treasure in their Princes, either to  
subject Power by Need to their devotion and  
awe, (for Princes dare most offend them whom  
they have least cause to use,) or to force Necessi-  
firy

(d) In Bundel  
Inquisitionum;  
anno 20. &  
anno 24 H. 6.

city to extend *Prerogative* so far, untill by putting all into Combustion, some may attain unto the end of their Ambition, others the redress of supposed Injuries. (a) Thus did the Faction of Henry the fourth in the one, and the Nobility under Henry the third in the other; who hereby quitted the State oppressed (as they thought) with the Kings Half-brothers, the *Poitouins* and other Strangers.

(a) *Ex lib.*  
*Abbat. de*  
*7 anjey.*

Subjects fear to have the enemies of their Sovereigns too much weakned, lest themselves become Tyrants. And it is in the farthest respect

(b) *Mat. Paris*  
*Hist. min.*

(c) *Ex Adam*  
*amerimouth*  
*in vita Ed. 2.*

(d) *Mat. Paris*  
*Hist. min.*

(e) *Mat. Paris*  
*Hist. majori.*

in the (b) *Baronage* under John, Henry his son, and (c) *Edward* the second, to fear as much the absolute Greatness of their Sovereign, as they did the Diminution of their own estates. And therefore when they found their King to grow too fast upon any neighbour Adversary, then would they lend their best aid to diminish his power or fortune; lest by enlarging himself upon the other that poized his greatness, he might forget and become a Tyrant; as one saith of Henry the first, (d) *Assumpsit cornua audacitatis contra Ecclesiam quam Regni universalitatem, Roberto fratre & aliis inimicis edomitum*, having once overcome his brother Robert and other enemies, with audacious and presumptuous horns he goared as well the Church, as the rest of the Kingdom, breaking his Seal, his Charter, and his Oath.

The memory of this caused the Nobility (e) to call in the French Kings Son, when John their Sovereign began to know his own authority (as they thought) too much. And the French Subjects aided on the other side Henry the third against their

their Master, when he was almost cooped up in his *Britain* journey. This (as the Stories report) being a practice usual in those days.

**T**He last mischief is the disposition that Military education leaveth in the minds of many; For it is not born with them that they so much distaste peace, but proceeds from that custome that hath made in them another nature.

Military Education cause of trouble in the state.

It is rarely found that ever Civil troubles of this State were dangerously undertaken, but where the plot and pursuit was made by a spirit so infused.

Heads of dangerous Rebel-  
lions have been only such as by Command in War have forgot to obey in Peace.

King *John* had been after (a) *sine Regno* without a Kingdom, as he was at first *sans terre* without land, if his rebenediction had not wrought more upon the disloyal designs of *Fitzwalter* and *Marshall*, (whom his own elective love had made great in opinion by the *Norman* Services) than either his rebated Sword or blasted Sceptre could.

(a) *Mat. Paris* anno 5 Joan.

(b) If *Simon Montfort* had not been too much improved in *Experience* and his own Opinion by the many services he underwent in the Government of *Gascoign*, he had never so much dared against Duty, as to come over at the first call to make head against his Master, and pursue him with that fury of Ambition, until he had forced him to redeem the liberty of his person by the blasting of so many flowers of his *Imperial Crown*: and to set himself so far below the seat of Majesty, as to capitulate with them upon even conditions, which not performed (I use his own words) (c)

(b) *willielm. de Rishanger in Historia.*

*Licet omnibus de Regno nostro contra nos insurgere*, it shall be lawful for all persons in our Kingdom to rise up against us, and to do *omnia qua gra-*

(c) *Ex Charta con. eff. Bironibus an 10 49 Hen. 3.*



## Answers to the reasons

*namen nostrum respiciant, ac si Nobis in nulla tenerentur*, so to act all things in reference to the grievances from us upon them, as if they were by no tye obliged to us.

*Verba Ducis  
Somerſet. contra  
Ducem  
Eborac. coram  
Rege.*

If *Richard Duke of York* had never learned to be so great a Souldier at the cost of his Master *Henry the sixth* in another State, he had never disquieted the calm of his Times, or given just occasion to his Opposite *Somerſet* to say, That if he had never learned to play the King by his *Regency in France*, he had never forgot to obey as a Subject when he returned into England.

Our own times can afford some, whose spirit improved by *Military* employment, and made wanton with popular applause, might have given instance of these dangers, if good success had been a relative to bad intentions. And every age breeds some exorbitant spirits, who turn the edge of their own sufficiency upon whatsoever they can devour in their ambitious apprehensions, seeking rather a great than a good Fame; and holding it the chiefest Honour to be thought the Wonder of their times: which if they attain to, it is but the condition of Monsters, that are generally much admired, but more abhorred.

But war some may say mouldeth not all men thus: for vertuous men will use their weapons for ornament amongst their Friends, against Enemies for defence. And to those men their own goodness is not safe, *nam Regibus boni quam mali suspectiores sunt*, for Kings suspect good men sooner than bad. Kings must have their Ministers *pares negotiis* fit for their business, and not *supra* above it, or too able for it. For another mans

mans too-much sufficiency ( as they take it ) is a diminution of their respectiveness, and therefore dangerous.

**T**He meaner sort having forgot the toile of their first life by inuring themselves to the liberty of War, which leaveth for the most part the lives of men to their own looseness, and the means of getting to their own justice, can never again endure either order or labour; and so return but to corrupt the Common-wealth with their lawless manners. For living more riotously than the rapine of forraign victory could warrant, (as for the most they do) in contempt of their own private Want and Fortune, they desire a change of the publick Quiet. In Tumults and Uproars they take least care for their livings, however the world goes they can be no losers: for like *Silla's Army*, making no difference between sacred and profane Robberies, (for the victors Sword seldom reacheth either mean or modesty) they will be ready upon every advantage to pillage their Countrey-men at home. For who can expect men dissolutely disciplined can ever use their armes with moderation?

Against the fury of such seditious Outrages many Parliaments, as (a) in the twenty second of *Hen.* the sixth have been solicited for redress. And that example in (b) *Champaign* after the Peace at *Cal-lis* 1360. where this licentious Rout at the close of those wars slew the *Duke of Bourbon*, and besieged the *Pope at Avignon*, may suffice to expresse this mischief.

It hath no less weakened the bond of mutual Trade: since our Merchants, whom the necessity

Many disorders in the State by return of the common Souldier.

(a) *Parl. anno 22 Hen. 6.*

(b) *Froissart*

of late times left to recover by force the losses they pretended, do now reach, as a *Maxime* of their Myserie and our State, That the directest way either to wealth or security is by *Rapine* and Spoil : and to cloak their own ends pretend the common good ; as if the State stood by their affections, when in truth they themselves cannot fish but in *aqua turbida* in troubled waters : and therefore would have *Incendium Patriæ* a bonfire of their Countrey, if it be but to keep warm and awake their own humours.

Exhausting of  
the people no  
Necessity but  
Danger.

**T**HE last motive from Necessity is, the ease War bringeth to a furcharged State. Intending it seemeth *War* but as the Sink, and Souldiers but as the Corruptions of Common-weals ; whereas besides the inevitable use of the one, and the noble condition of the other, ( an Errour in the argument ) Nature doth never oppress further by increase, than she again dischargeth. The breast of the Mother she enableth to nourish up as many as the Womb shall *uno partu* at one birth ever bring forth ; proportioning to the number of the Children the condition of their Strength and Appetites. It is then accession of our own that may furcharge ; for Parents by such indulgent admission may soon famish whom in Motherly affection they intend to cherish.

But admitting the former ground, whether by this way of waste we be ever able and at pleasure to gage the Issue ( when such elective power is left to him only *qui suis stat viribus, non alieno pendet arbitrio*, who stands by his own strength, and not at the pleasure of another ) is considerable ; since to begin *curvis licet, deponere eum victores*  
volunt,



plunt, is easie for any man, but the laying down  
will be at the Conquerours pleasure. For the wast-  
ing of our people in ambitious Enterprizes (as that  
of an Empire by Constantine in France) left this  
land as a prey to the barbarous Frontiers, (a) *omni milite & floride juventutis alacritate spolia-*  
ta, being left naked of Souldiery, and robbed of  
the choicest flower of youth. And when we were  
led to make good our undertaking in France, the  
waste of our people was so great, that to supply  
extremity we took *purgamenta urbium*, the dregs  
of Towns, (as Curtius saith of Alexander;) (b) *Need hiring the Bankrupts by protection, as in*  
the twenty second of Edward the first; and en-  
forcing, against the rule of justice, the Judges to  
put *Placita eorum in respectu qui in obsequium Re-*  
*gis profecturi sunt*, Pleas in the behalf of such as  
were to go in the Kings service. And as Tacitus  
of a declined Majesty saith, *emunt militem, non*  
*egunt*, they buy their Souldiers rather than make  
choise of them; we made purchase of general  
Pardons of all that were *Uelegati, Banniti, aut de*  
*Felonis indictati, si cum Rege transire voluerint*,  
out-lawed, excommunicated, or indicted of Fe-  
lony, in case they would go over with the King.  
As in the same year of the former King and in the  
year after were discharged out of all Prisons in the  
Realm to the number of ninety seven notorious Ma-  
factors. (c) And in the eighteenth of Edward the  
second, and eighth of Edward the third, and  
twelfth of Edward the fourth we did the like. An  
army better apted by Necessity than Election to  
live upon the Enemy, *Quibus ob Egestatem &*  
*Flagitia maxima peccandi necessitudo est*, whose  
indigency and former ill way of life must needs  
make

(a) Beda Hist.  
Eccl. lib. 1.

(b) Ex Rot.  
Francie an.  
22 Ed. 1.

(c) Ex Rot.  
Original. in  
Arch. Thesaur.

(a) Ex Rot.  
Par. an. 7 R.2.

make them ready for any mischief. In the end of this King last remembred, and entrance of his Heir *Richard* the second, the State began to be sensible of consuming Issue; which not lying in the Kings power (now as the strength of *France*, set on Revenge, stood) to stay at pleasure, (for ——— *arm tenenti Omnia dat qui iusta negat* ——— Deny the Souldiers due, You give him all you have) it was urged to him in Parliament in the (a) seventh of his reign, as an *error* in his Government: whereto he answered, that they ought not to lay the cause upon him, for that together with the Crown the Wars descended unto him. And the *Chancellor* in the fourth of *Henry* the fourth, declared publickly in the Higher House, that by the mischance of War and want of reasonable *Peace*, (for I use the words of the Roll) occasioned by dissensions and private desire, the flower of *Chivalry* and Rock of *Nobility* within the Realm was in a manner consumed.

Lucan.

*Nobilitas cum Plebe perit, lateque vagatur  
Ensis, & à multo revocatum est pectore ferrum.*

The Peer and Peasant falls, and hating rest  
Bloody the Sword returns from many a breast.

Better to dis-  
burthen the  
state by Co-  
lony than  
War.

And the whole State by war had been thus subverted had not God as a mean raised that King. But since the end of mans creation is not for the Slaughter, nor education of Armes to make men Cast-aways; the course most answerable either to *Charity*, or *Example*, (for *Rome* did by *Colonies* inlarge and confirm her *Empire*) is to transplant that we may best spare. In *Ireland* we may increase the King many Subjects, and in the *Indies*

God

God many servants: a world from our Forefathers  
 lockt up by divine Providence, as only best to glo-  
 rify and purifie these Times. And as in war *con-*  
*quirendus potius miles quam dimittendus*, Souldi-  
 ers are rather to be listed than disbanded; so *post*  
*bellum vires refovenda magis quam spargenda*,  
 after war forces are rather to be cherished than  
 wasted. And thus much in answer of *Necessity*.

*Answer to the Arguments of Profit.*

**T**He profits gained by Forraign Expeditions Profit of war.  
 cannot be any wayes so truly esteemed, as by Expence of  
 setting down the expence of Money, Men, and money, Mu-  
 nition, by which we have made purchase of nition and  
 them. I will therefore deliver as they fall in se- men.  
 quence all the Impositions, *Taxes* and *Lones*, whe-  
 ther by general Grant, or *Prerogative* power le-  
 vied of the People; summing after up, as I go along  
 the times of our Princes, the number of Men,  
 Ships, and vast *provisions* of Victuals raised to  
 supply the necessity and expence of War.

**W**illiam the Conquerour in the entrance of A summary  
 his Government took of every Hide-land of all the  
 twelve pence a due of the Subjects to the Sovereign exactions up-  
 both before and since the Conquest, to defray on this State  
 such charge as either the defence of the Land from the Con-  
 from spoil, or the Sea from *Piracy*, should ex- quest to the  
 pose the Prince to. It is called *Dane-geld*, *Gelda* end of the  
*Regis*, or *Hidage*, and was sessed by the Hide late Queen.  
 or Plough-land, like to that *Jugatio per jugera*  
 taxation by the acre in *Rome*, yet by no rate de-  
 finite with this as with another *Exaction*, taken, (a) *Ex Matth.*  
 as the Monk of *S. Albans* (a) saith, *sive per fas sive* Paris pag. 8.  
*per* & 15.



*per nefas*, by fair means or by foul. He passed over into *Francia* into the list of charge he ranked the Bishops and Abbots, setting upon them and their charge a proportion of Souldiers for his service, exiling many worthy men that opposed this thralldom.

William Rufus.

*William Rufus anno 7.* set upon the heads of so many as he mustered up for the French wars ten shillings a man, and so discharged them. In anno 9 he to the same end spoiled the Churches of their Ornaments and Holy vessels, and levied four

(a) *Ex antiq. legibus Anglie.*

*Hidages* of every Plough-land, (a) *Tributa Angliam non modo abradens, sed excorians*, not only shaving, but even flaying England with his impositions: so that wearied with war and expence, *ne respirare potuit Anglia sub ipsa suffocata*, England was quite stifled by him, and could not so much as breath. — (b) *Quid jam non Regibus ausum? Aut quid jam Regnare sceleris?* — What durst not Kings then do? What mischief could the Nation suffer more? in this Kings time.

(b) *Silius Italicus.*

(c) *Henry the first anno 5. magnam à Regno exegit Pecuniam*, exacted a great sum of his Kingdom, with which he passed into *Francia*: and by this means (d) *gravabatur terra Anglie oppressibus multis*, England was born down with many oppressions. (e) He took in the tenth year six shillings *Danegeld*. (f) And in the seventeenth *Quod inter eum & Regem Francorum magnum fuit dissidium*, Anglia fuit variè depressa *Exactionibus, & Bonis sine peccato spoliata*, by means of the great difference betwixt him and the King of France, England was oppressed with divers exactions, and men spoiled of their goods for no offence at all.

(c) *Ex Hist. Gualt. Giffborn.*

(d) *Ex Hist. Mat. Paris.*

(e) *Ex Hist. Mat. Westm.*

(f) *Ex Hist. Hen. Hunting.*

(c) *Henry the first anno 5. magnam à Regno exegit Pecuniam*, exacted a great sum of his Kingdom, with which he passed into *Francia*: and by this means (d) *gravabatur terra Anglie oppressibus multis*, England was born down with many oppressions. (e) He took in the tenth year six shillings *Danegeld*. (f) And in the seventeenth *Quod inter eum & Regem Francorum magnum fuit dissidium*, Anglia fuit variè depressa *Exactionibus, & Bonis sine peccato spoliata*, by means of the great difference betwixt him and the King of France, England was oppressed with divers exactions, and men spoiled of their goods for no offence at all.

Of King Stephen there need no more than the Stephen.  
 words of the Monk of Gisborn, (a) *Post annum* (a) *Ex hist.*  
*extremum Pax nulla, omnes partes terrebant violenta* mon. Gisborn.  
*Prædatione*, after the sixth year of his reign there  
 was no quiet, but all parts of the Land became a  
 prey and spoil to violent men.

Henry the second, alluding not unlike to the Henry 2.  
*Fœdus* given the *Eremita* in the decline of the  
 Empire, as *Salaries* by which they stood bound  
 to defend the Frontiers against the Incursions of  
 the Barbarous Nations, continued the Policy of  
 his Progenitors, who allotted the Land into such  
 and so many equal portions, as might seem  
 competent for supportation of a Knight or man at  
 Arms; from whom (as occasion required) they  
 received either service or contribution. This Te-  
 nure, now esteemed a Thralldom, began upon a  
 voluntary and desired submission; for who from  
 his gift would not of the Prince accept Land upon  
 the like conditions, so it toucheth not the Sovereign  
 as a wrong to the Subject, but as in right  
 his own? And therefore respecting their first im-  
 mediate dependency upon the Crown, which is a  
 great part of the Kings Honour, their duties and  
 Escheats a great benefit, and their attendance by  
 Tenure in war at their own charge to the number  
 of 60216. at the least, (for the Knights Fees  
 in England are no less) a great ease, strength  
 and security to his State; for they are *totidem*  
*Hostagia*, so many Hostages, as *Bracton* saith;  
 it were a thing perillous now to alter, after such  
 a current of time and custome. This King to un-  
 derstand the better his own strength, *publico præ-*  
*cepit editto quod quilibet Prelatus & Baro, quot*  
*Milites de eo tenerent in Capite publicis suis*  
*instrumentis*

instrumentis significarent, he caused it to be proclaimed that every Prelate and Baron should notifie by publick deed how many Knightships they held of him *in capite*. By this rule of *Scutage*, constant in the number, he levied alwayes his Subsidies and relief, though divers in the rate. Of the first, which was near the beginning of his Reign, there is no record. The second *Scutage*, (a) which was *anno 5.* amounted to 124 millia *librarum argenti*, thousand pounds of silver, which reduced to the standard of our money five shillings the ounce, whereas that was not five groats, will amount to near 400000 *l.* *An. 7.* (b) *Scutagium fuit assessum ad duas Marcas pro Exercitu Tholosa*, a *Scutage* was assessed two Marks for the Army at *Tholouse*; which if summed up by the received number of Knights Fees, being 60216 in the hands of the Laity only, of our moneys cannot be less than 290000 *l.* The like in the next year. In *an. 11.* (c) there was an *Aid pro servientibus invenientis in exercitu*, to find men to serve in the wars, of two pence *de unaquaque libra* in every pound. And 4. *sequentibus annis de singulis libris singulis denariis*, in the four following years a penny in the pound was taken of all men, the estates of mens Fortunes being delivered upon their Oaths. In the fourteenth year a *Scutage* was assessed (d) *ad Marcam unam de singulis Feodis*, one Mark on every Fee. And *anno 18.* (e) *Scutagium pro quolibet Feodo*, a *Scutage* for every Fee. A Tenth of all moveables was granted in the thirty fifth year of his Reign. In which year dying, (f) 900 millia *librarum in auro & argento, prater utensilia & jocalia, reliquit*, he left in money 900000 pounds, besides Plate and Jewels.

(a) Richard

(a) Ex Gervaf. Dorobornen. an. 1159.

(b) Ex lib. Rub. in Scerio.

(c) Ex Gervaf. Dorobornens.

(d) Rub. lib. in Scerio.

(e) Ex hist. Rossens.

(f) Ex hist. Matth. Paris. Richard 1.



- (a) Richard the first in the beginning besides *scutagium Wallie assessum*, a Scutage assessed upon Wales at ten shillings, levied as in the succour of the Holy Land a Subsidy out of all the Moveables in the Realm to his own use; (b) *Et eleemosyna tunc vitiis Rapacitatis inclusit*, cloaking his ravenous extortion under the fair name of a pious almes. A contribution there was in the sixth year of 1500 *milliamargarum argenti ad pondus Columnisensum*, 150000 marks of silver to pay his ransom: as also a Scutage assessed at twenty shillings. In the (d) seventh he imposed for his wants a contribution called *Tenementale*. Extremity (for by his waste and imprisonment he had almost exhausted the wealth of the State) invented *nova & varia pradandi vocabula*, new and sundry words to express his exactions, as *Tacitus* (c) saith, of *Centesima & Quinquagesima*, an hundredth part and a fiftieth part, (names that since have found reception and use with us.) This was two shillings of every Plough-land from the Husbandman, and from the Gentry and Nobility the third part of their Military service. He enforced the *Cistercian Monks* (f) to redeem the same year their woolls *sine Pecunia*, at a Fine. For his Army into Normandy (g) he took a Scutage assessed at twenty shillings. (h) And four years after of every Plough-land five shillings, and of every Burrough and (i) City *duos palfridos & totidem summarios*, two horses and as many summaries: and of every Abbot half as much. Then losing of purpose his great Seal, proclaimed that (k) *Omnes Charta & Confirmationes novi Sigilli impressione roborarentur*, all Charters and

(a) Rub. liber in Secrio.

(b) Ex hist. min. Matth. Paris. Rub. lib.

(c) Ex hist. Walt. Coventr.

(d) Ex Rog. Hoved. &amp; Walt. Coventr.

(e) Tacit. annal. 4.

(f) Ex Joan. Eversden.

(g) Rub. lib. in Secrio.

(h) Ex Walt. Coventr.

(i) Ex Matth. Paris.

(k) Ex charta origin.

(a) Ex hist.  
Mat. Paris  
p. 209.

(b) Ex hist.  
Rog. Hoveden.

King John.  
(c) Rad. Cog-  
shall & Rub.  
lib. in Scerio.  
(d) Ex Rog.  
Hoveden.

(e) Ex Matth.  
Paris.

(f) Lib. Rub.  
in Scerio.

(g) Ex Matth.  
Paris.

(h) Ex lib.  
Rub. Scerii.

(i) Ex Rad.  
Cogshall.

(k) Ex Matth.  
Paris.

(l) Walt. Co-  
ventr. & Rad.  
Cogshall.

(m) Ex Mat.  
Paris.

and Assurances should be confirmed by the  
Seal. Whereby anew he drew from all men  
composition for their Liberties. This fashion was  
afterwards taken up by some of his Successors  
as (a) of Henry the third, when all again were  
enjoyed *qui suis volebant libertatibus gaudere*  
as many as would enjoy their Liberties, *ut inno-  
uarent Chartas suas de novo Regis Sigillo*, to re-  
new their Charters from the Kings new Seal.  
Some reason (b) Richard had in the end to be-  
come a gatherer, that had not long before be-  
accompt of Chancellor Hubert then Archbishop  
spent *infra biennium undecies centena milia  
Marcarum argenti de Regno Anglia*, within less  
than two years, eleven hundred thousand Marks of  
silver current English money.

(c) His brother John succeeding (c) took in the  
first of his Reign a *Scutage* assessed at two Marks  
(d) For the two next years three shillings of every  
Plow: (e) and the year following, besides a *Scu-  
tage* as before, the fortieth part of the Revenues of  
the Clergy and Laity. (f) In the fourth year he  
took the like *Scutage*, and the (g) seventh part of  
the moveable goods of the *Baronage* and Clergy.  
(g) A *Scutage* assessed at two Marks (h) in an. 51.  
The like in the sixth and seventh years twenty shil-  
lings *Scutage*; and the thirteenth part of Movea-  
bles as well of the Church as Laity in the year fol-  
lowing. In (k) an. 9. he exacted by redem-  
ption of the Concubines of the Clergy a great  
summ. In the eleventh (l) extorsit tributum  
grave, scilicet 140 millia librarum a viris Ecclesiasticis,  
he extorted a great tribute, viz. 140000  
pounds of the Church-men. And to furnish his  
Army, (m) *Clericorum Horrea invadit*, he came  
upon

upon the Barns of the Clergy. In (a) the twelfth a *Scutage* assessed at two marks, besides an exaction (b) of 22000 l. from the *Cistercian* Monks. He took (c) in the thirteenth year a *Scutage* assessed at 20 s. *pro exercitu Scotia*, and another at two marks *pro exercitu Wallia*, &c. for his *Welch* Army; ex-acting (d) from the Ministers of the Church in the year following 400000 marks. (e) And in the sixteenth year *Scutagium assessum fuit pro exercitu Pittavia ad 3 Marcas*, a *Scutage* was assessed at three marks for the Army in *Poitou*. Thus in the space of seventeen years the State was delivered but thrice from *Impositions*.

In the time of *Henry* the third, (f) upon the Clergy, Nobility and Gentry there was assessed fifteen *Scutages*; one at ten shillings, two at twenty, eight at two Marks, and four at forty shillings the Knights Fee. (g) The land of the inferiour sort twice taxed; first at two shillings, after at half a Mark the Plow. (h) And two Tallages upon the land of the Crown. (i) From out of the Lay Subjects moveable goods hath been taken five times: as the fortieth, the thirtieth, the twentieth and fifteenth parts, (k) and once the sixteenth of the Clergy for this King. (l) A Tenth he nine times imposed upon the Church: six times for a year only, and by it self; once accompanied with the First-Fruits; once for three years; and once for five. (m) Besides two Aides, the one moderate, the other called (n) *gravis exactio*, a heavy exaction, and worthily, if to the eight hundred Marks imposed upon (o) *S. Ed-*

(a) *Ex Rad. Cogshall.*  
(b) *Rub. lib. in Scerio.*  
(c) *Ex Rad. Cogshall & Rub. lib. in Scerio.*  
(d) *Mat. Paris hist. min.*  
(e) *Rub. lib. in Scerio.*

Henry 3.  
(f) *Ex Rub. lib. in Scerio & Joan. Eversden.*  
(g) *Mat. Paris, & ex Rot. Claus. & finium an. 12, 13, 15, & 19 Hen. 3. & ex lib. Chart. Cantuar. Episc.*  
(h) *Rot. Pat. anno 8 H. 3.*  
(i) *Ex. Tho. Walsingham, & Mat. Paris. Claus. anno 19 H. 3.*  
(k) *Ex Mat. Westmonast.*

(l) *Ex statuto anno 4. c. 17. Dors. claus. anno 16 H. 3. & Eversden.*  
(m) *Ex lib. Cantuar. Episc.*  
(n) *Ex Eversden & Paris.*  
(o) *Ex Matth. Paris & Eversden & Dors. claus. anno 16 H. 3.*



(a) Ex Walt.

Gisborn.

(b) Rad. Ci-

strensis, ex E-

versden, Paris

&amp; lib. Chart.

Cant. Archiep.

anno 8 H. 6.

(c) Ex Joan.

Evensden, Pat.

an. 3 E. 1.

m. 26.

(d) Rot. claus.

an. 26 Hen. 3.

(e) Ex H.

Mat. Paris.

p. 5171.

(f) Ex Rot.

lib. an. 26 H. 3.

(g) Ex Hist.

Mat. Paris.

(i) Dorf. claus.

a 10 14 H. 3.

8. &amp; claus.

12 H. 3. n. 2.

*munda* Bury all the other *Abbyes* were rated accordingly. (a) And by the accompt of *Will-*

*helmus de Middleton* (b) he received in the time

of his Government *de exitu Judaismi* 402000

And as in all the fifty six years of his reign (ex-

cepting five) either the Church or Common-

wealth were charged with contribution-money to

relieve the expence of war; so were they grieved

with other *Exactures*, either for Carriages, or

*Victuals*, or personal attendance. In the six-

teenth year the inhabitants of *Winchelsey* were en-

joyned. (c) *ut providerent decem bonas naves* &

*magnas ad transfretandum in Pictaviam in ser-*

*vitium Regis*, to provide ten good and stout

ships for the Kings service in *Poitou*. (d) And

at another time twenty, *Dunwich* and *Ipswich* five

a piece, and the Ports proportionable, all at their

own charge. In the same year (e) and for the same

service there was transported ten thousand quarters

of wheat, five thousand of Oates, and many Bar-

cons. The Church not forborn in those charges

For from *Winchester* (f) two thousand quarters

of Wheat and Oates, and one thousand of Beans

was taken. (g) The other Bishops and Clergy

bearing their parts of victuals in the like *Exacti-*

*ons*, coming *ut unda supervenit unda*

*acsi esset Anglia puteus inexhaustus*, as wave

follows wave, as if *England* were a pit never

to be drawn dry. (h) In the twelfth and four-

teenth the King levied Souldiers for his war

beyond Sea, collecting *pro Exercitu suo de sin-*

*gulis duobus Hidis*, upon every two Hides *unum*

*hominem bonum secure*, and to bring *secum*

*Etualia* victuals with them: and those for

whose service the King dispenced, & quos *Re-*

*quos*

vult remanere in partibus suis, and such as he  
 pleased should continue at home, to contribute  
 victuals to those that went for forty dayes :  
 commanding the Sheriffs (a) to swear all ad (a) claus. an.  
*Arma qui post eum remanebant in Anglia, in* 14 H. 3. n. 7.  
*forma qua jurati fuerant tempore Joannis Pa-*  
*tris sui, to Armes, who stayed behind him in*  
*England, after the manner they were sworn in*  
*the time of King John his father; by which Or-*  
*dinance of King John all able Subjects from*  
*Youth to decrepit Age were bound to arm*  
*themselves, and be in continual readines, (b) à (b) claus. an.*  
*sero usque ad mane from night to morning, (for* 16 H. 3. m. 11.  
*the Record is) to attend the Kings pleasure.*  
 And therefore Henry the third in anno 14.  
 (c) mandavit Vicecomitibus quod venire faciant (c) claus. an.  
 ad exercitum Regis homines juratos ad fer- 14 H. 3. m. 9.  
 rum, commanded the Sheriffs to send all those  
 to his Army who had been so sworn, bringing  
 with them *Loricis, Habergiones, &c.* Coats of  
 Maile, Habergeons, &c. and to such as negle-  
 cted this service he sent his Writs, reprehending  
 them at first, (d) *jurgatorie eò quòd, &c.* tartly (d) claus. in  
 for that, &c. and after fining them according Dorso, an. 15  
 to their abilities and Tenures. Taking (e) an. 26. (e) Rot. finium  
 of Willihelm. de Umfrevile pro quietatione pas- 26 H. 3. m. 4.  
 sagis, for the securing of his passage into Gas-  
 aign 100 Marks; and so in proportion of many  
 others.

Edward the first exacted from the land of his Edward 1.  
 subjects four times *Scurage*, assessed every time  
 at forty shillings the Knights Fee. And once an  
 Aide called *Auxilium novum*, a new Aide,  
 which he farmed out for ready money. Of the  
 Rents of the Clergy he took a Tenth part twice

for one year, and once for six : and the twentieth part twice from both the *Provinces*, and once for two years from *Canterbury* only.

The possessions of the *Priors Aliens* he seized once into his own hands, putting the *Monks* to a bare Pension of eighteen pence a week. Of the goods of the *Clergy* he took the thirtieth, the fifteenth, and the fifth part once, the *Moiety* three times, and the Tenth seven times ; whereof the *Grant* was first for two years, and then for three years, and once for six years. (a) Of the goods of the *Commons* the eighth, and the ninth, and the twelfth part he took once, twice severally the tenth and eleventh, the *Sessors* being sworn to levy and rate truly. Three times he had the fifteenth part, and once the moiety of a fifteenth. From the *Clergy* and *Laiety* together the King had granted of their *Moveables* the tenth, a fifteenth, and a thirtieth part. Of the *Cities* and *Boroughs*, besides a great Loan, once the seventh and eighth, and twice the sixth part. From the *Merchants* a twentieth, and a seventh portion once of their *Commodities* ; imposing a new *Custome* of a Noble upon every *Sack* of *Wool* which he let out to Farm. And under pretence of some breach of *Amity* with those parts whither his *Merchants* traded, he seized *anno* 22. (b) all the *Wools* into his hands and made of them instant Sale to the best value leaving them upon security to a short price and a long day of payment. He took (c) the same year, to the distaste of the *Pope* and murmure of the *Clergy*, all the money gathered in *subsidium Terra Sancta*, for the succour of the *Holy Land*, to furnish his Journeys. Upon the pe

(a) Rot. Pat.  
anno 25 E. 1.  
m. 3. scd.

(b) Rot. Vaf.  
con. anno 22  
E. 1 m. 8.

(c) Ex Rot.  
Vasco. an. 22  
E. 1. m. 17.



sons of his Subjects he imposed one Tallage,  
 (a) sessed either in *communis* in general, or *per capita* by the Poll. And twice the like upon the *Jews*: whereof the one amounted to fifty thousand Marks. Neither were his people by continual payment (for there was but one year of intermission all his Reign) freed from attendance in their Persons. For in record there appeareth plentifully his writs to the Sheriffs: as (b) *an. 31. de peditibus eligendis de tota Anglia*, for the chusing of foot-Souldiers throughout all England; and to be found and furnished by their several Countreys: calling (c) his *Earles, Barons and Knights* to personal service according to their *Tenures*.

(a) *Ex Rot. Vas. an. 22 E. 1.*

(b) *Rot. Pat. anno 31 E. 1.*

(c) *Ex Hist. Joan. Eversden.*

His Son the second *Edward* assessed upon the lands of his Subjects twice *Schorage*; once at two Marks, and once at forty shillings the Knights Fee. From the Revenues of the Clergy rated by the book of Tenth, he at distinct times took 4 *d.* 5 *d.* and 12 *d.* in the Mark; and once the fifteenth part of the whole. From the goods of the Clergy a Tenth for three years. And twice (d) a Loan from the Abbots and Bishops. From the Laity (besides a Tallage of their Moveables) in Cities and Burroughs once a tenth, twice a fifteenth, and twice a twentieth part of their goods. Besides a Loan from the Commons, and ten shillings borrowed upon every Sack of Wool from Merchant Strangers, and a Noble from others. (e) From the Clergy and Laity together of their goods a tenth, a fifteenth, and twice an eighteenth part, besides a Loane. He augmented his fathers new Custome with an Imposition of a Noble

Edward 2.

(d) *Claus. an. 8 E. 2. m. 9.*

(e) *Claus. 16 E. 2. Claus. anno 12 E. 2.*

- more upon every Sack of Wool. And anno 10.
- (a) *Ex memor. Secrij. an. 10 E. 2. ex parte Rem. Thesaur.* (a) *quia exitus Regni sui & terrarum*, because the profits of his Realm and dominions elsewhere, together with all the money granted by the Church and Laiery, *ad sumptus Belli sufficere noluit*, was not enough to defray the charges of his wars, and that he must *infinitam pecuniam effundere*, spend a vast deal of money; he sesseth and increaseth an Imposition upon all Commodities inward and outward to an extream Rate; and caused the Commons in every Shire to lay down money *in deposito* to pay his Souldiers; and took from the Nobility and Gentry a large contribution towards his wars; and seized (b) *omnes Lanas & Coria Mercatorum, data securitate Possessoribus de rationabili pretio postea solvendo*, All the Wools and Hides of the Merchants, giving security to the Owners that a reasonable price should be paid for them afterwards. He charged the Ports and Sea-Towns twelve several years *ad costos suos & sumptibus villarum*, at their own costs, and the charge of the Villages about them, (as the Record saith) to set to Sea in his service Ships furnished *Armis & victualibus*, with Armes and Victuals; sometimes for one moneth, as anno 11. (c) sometimes for four as (d) anno 12. and sometimes for seven as (e) anno 4. the number of Ships more or less as occasion required. In anno 17. (f) *Southampton* was charged with six, and an hundred and eighteen Sea-Towns more with rateable proportions for the Kings service. Sometimes, as anno 18. (g) embarguing all the Ships in any Port that were of forty Tuns or upwards,
- (b) *Rot. Vasc. con. anno 22 E. 2. m. 13. in sced.*
- (c) *Rot. Scot. anno 11. m. 17.*
- (d) *Rot. Scot. anno 12. m. 8.*
- (e) *Rot. Pat. anno 4 E. 2.*
- (f) *Dors. Claus. anno 17 E. 2. m. 11.*
- (g) *Claus. an. 18. m. 34.*

wards, as an. 20. or of fifty Tuns and upward, as  
 an. 23. (a) *contra hostiles aggressus Gallorum*, against  
 the hostile attempts of the French. Causing  
 the Town of Southampton anno 6. (b) to build  
 a Galley for themselves of an hundred and twenty  
 Oares. Commanding all the Sheriffs for pro-  
 vision of Victual, as (c) anno 1, 2, 3, 4, 9. to  
 provide *de Exitibus Comitatum certum preti-*  
*um*, at the charge of the County a certain Rate,  
 to the proportion sometimes of thirty thousand  
 five hundred *Quarters* of Corn and many Ba-  
 cons, as anno 16. (d) and to send them to the  
 Kings Army. As also (e) *Carrecta & Carracum*  
*Equis & Bobus*, Carcs and Waggoncs with Oxen  
 and Horses out of the Counties severally for the  
 use of war. Sometimes he made the Ports to  
 send provision themselves, as anno 7. (f) and  
 not to suffer any Ships with victuals (g) *ibidem*  
*discariari*, to be there unladed, but to order  
 them by security for those parts where the Kings  
 Army was lodged.

And not sparing the Church, exacted (h) his  
 three first years *Frumenta & alia victualia pro*  
*exercitu suo*, Corn and other Victuals for his  
 Army from them.

Besides the former Charges, the Persons of  
 Men, as well of the Nobility as meaner rank,  
 were at their own Charge often enjoyned to  
 serve by reason of the wars. (i) As in an. 6,  
 7, 8, 9, 10, and 16. (k) of this King, when  
 they were called *singulatim* man by man, as well  
 Widows as Knights (l) and Noblemen, and  
 such as held forty pound land according to their  
 Tenures, (m) *sub forisfactura terrarum &*  
*Catallorum, Equis & Armis, sumptibus propriis,*

(a) Ex Rot.  
 Vaston. m. 29.

(b) Claus. an.  
 6 E. 2.

(c) Rot. Scot.  
 anno 1, 2, 3.  
 m. 10. & an. 4.  
 m. 5. & an. 9.  
 & Rot. Pat.

anno 10. m. 12.  
 (d) Rot. Pat.  
 an. 16. m. 3.

(e) Rot. Scot.  
 anno 8. m. 9.

(f) Rot. Scot.  
 Dorset, anno 7.  
 m. 8.

(g) Dorset, Claus.  
 anno 16. m. 3.

(h) Rot. Scot.  
 anno 1, 2, 3.  
 m. 8.

(i) Rot. Scot.  
 anno 8 E. 2.  
 Dorset. Claus.  
 anno 9.

(k) Claus. an.  
 16 E. 2.

(l) Ex Dorset.  
 Claus. 7 E. 2.  
 m. 7.

(m) Claus. an.  
 16. n. 20.



(a) *Ex Patro-  
culo de Ang.*

(b) *Claus. an.*

16. m. 11. &

*cla. an. 15.*

m. 19.

(c) *Rot. Scotiae*

*anno 3 E. 2.*

m. 8. *Dors.*

(d) *Rot. Scotiae*

*an. 11. m. 16.*

(e) *Rot. Pat.*

*an. 15. m. 19.*

(f) *Rot. Scotiae*

*anno 12. m. 13.*

(g) *Claus. an.*

18. m. 13.

(h) *Rot. Pat.*

*an. 16. m. 27.*

(i) *Rot. Pat.*

*anno 9. m. 22.*

*Dors. Cla. 10.*

m. 26. *Claus.*

*anno 15. m. 13.*

*Rot. Pat.*

*anno 16. m. 27.*

(k) *Rot. Scotiae*

*anno 12. m. 2.*

(l) *Dors. claus.*

*anno 6. m. 28.*

*Rot. Scotiae*

*anno 7. m. 2.*

*claus. anno 8.*

m. 30.

*claus. an. 16.*

m. 12.

*Rot. Scotiae*

*an. 12. m. 6.*

*Rot. Pat. anno*

18. m. 21.

to appear with Horse and Armes, at their own charge, under penalty of forfeiting their Lands and Chattels; and to provide *de hominibus ad Arma ultra famulos suos consuetos*, men for the service besides their ordinary Servants; according to *Augustus* (a) rule, *Viri Famineque ex Censu coacti dare Militem*, both men and women were forced to find their Souldiers. And of this the Clergy was not exempted (b) *anno 16.* of this King. And out of every Town one *sumptibus propriis*, at their own charges, for forty dayes, as *anno 15.* or for 60. as *anno 9.* or *7. Septimanis* for seven weeks, as *anno 4.* (c) Sometimes a thousand in one County, as *anno 1.* (d) Sometimes an entire Army of eighteen thousand three hundred, *an. 11.* and (e) forty eight thousand eight hundred at the charge of all the Counties *anno 15.* (f) *London sumptibus Civitatis* at the Cities charge, found 500. men for forty days *anno 12.* and the like *anno 18. contra insultus Regis Francie*, against the invasions of the King of France. (h) The King commanded *anno 16.* that all of forty shillings land and upwards should rateably send to his service men; (i) And *an. 9.* 10, 15, and 16. that all *jurati ad arma*, sworn to Armes, or from sixteen to sixty, *secundum Statutum Wincestrie*, according to the Statute of Winchester, should attend their Services. (k) And *anno 13.* injoynd all from twenty to sixty to be armed and victualled at their own charge. (l) And commanded the Sheriffs *annis 6, 7, 8, 12, 16 and 18.* to see all the able men of England so furnished, that *Parati sint & muniti ad veniendum ad Regem quando vocati fuerint*, they should be provided and in a readiness to march

March to the King when he should call them, their weapons to be provided *ad sumptus Incolarum*, at the charge of their neighbour dwellers: and themselves enjoined to muster and train every six weeks. If any neglected his appointed service, there was sent to the Sheriff *Writ de habenda illis coram Concilio, qui praeibant cum venerunt in expeditione Regis*, to bring them before the Council, who knowing of it before, refused the expedition, as anno 15. 1. the parties imprisoned, and their goods seized into the Kings hands, as b anno 9. & 16. or else redemption by fine, as the Sheriffs of *Buckingham* and *Bedford* did their men for six hundred Marks anno 15. The owner of forty shillings land to redeem his first default *ad cum tertia parte Bonorum*, with the third part of his Goods; the second *cum tota residua*, with the remaining parts; at the third, *sint Corpora eorum ad voluntatem Regis*, their Bodies to be at the Kings disposal; and of Knights, *qui non fuerunt in exercitu Regis*, 20<sup>l</sup>. *de qualibet Hida*, which were not in the Kings Army, 20<sup>l</sup>. for every Hide, as c anno 13.

a Rot. claus.  
anno 15 E. 2.  
m. 14.  
Rot. finium  
anno 15. m. 16.

b Rot. claus.  
anno 9.  
Rot. Pat. anno  
16. m. 12.  
c Rot. claus.  
anno 15. m. 19.

d Rot. Scotie  
anno 13 E. 2.  
m. 1.

e claus. an. 13.  
m. 20.

I have the longer insisted upon this King, that *sicquam in speculo*, as in a glass we may behold the intolerable miseries of the Nobility and Commons inseparably accompanying the times of War.

Edward the third charged f the lands of his Subjects twice forty shillings of every Knights Fee; and five pound sixteen shillings of every Parish in the forty eighth year of his Reign. Out of the Goods of the Commons he took once the ninth part, and fifteenth of Forrest and Waste; twice the tenth, thirteen times a fifteenth for one year, and

Edward 3.  
f Pat. an. 48  
E. 3. m. 10.

and twice for the part of all moveables. Of the *Burroughs* and *Cities*, four Tenths, one for three years. From the *Lords* the tenth part of Cattle, Lamb, and Fleece: who with the Bishops and Knights grant twenty thousand Sacks of Wooll for payment of the Kings debts, giving in the *interim* security themselves by Bond to the *Earl of Brittain*, to whom their Sovereign stood engaged. Of the *Clergie* alone one Tenth for four years, three for three years, and one for one year. Besides a Contribution in the twelfth of his Reign, seizing in the same year all the Goods of the *Cluny* and *Cistercian Monks*. Of the *Church* and *Laity* together he received six times the tenth of all their Moveables. From the *Merchants* and State a Subsidy of Wooll for three years. Imposing *anno* 33. 26 s. 8 d. upon every Sack transported: which doubled the Impositions of his Father and Grandfather. Advancing it after for six years to forty shillings: and in *anno* 38. (being the year he resumed his Stile of *France*) to 46 s. 4 d. the Sack of Wooll. Taking Poundage 6 d. of all Commodities inward and outward and enjoyning the Merchants for every Sampler of Wooll transported to return in forty shillings Bullion to his Mint. a Himself becoming Merchant of all the Tinne in *Devonshire* and *Cornwall* *anno* 12. in *auxilium supportationis onerum Belli*, to help him bear the burthen of his wars: assessing upon the heads of his Subjects a fine of 4 d. severally *anno* 51. Besides in *b anno* 20. he took a Loan of the Bishops, Abbots, Justices, & aliis potentioribus Regni, de diversis pecuniarum Summis, inter Summas de 1000 l. & 40 l. and other

a Ex Rot. Al-  
man. an. 12.  
m. 17.

b Claus. an. 20  
E. 3. m. 22.  
in dorso.



other wealthy men of his Realm, in several  
summs of money, betwixt the summs of 1000 l.  
and 40 l.

In the first of his Reign *a* he commandeth all  
the Sea-towns to attend with Ships his service, *a Claus. an. 1*  
*sumptibus propriis & duplici Eskeppamento*, at *E. 3. Rot. Sco.*  
their own proper charge, and with double Skip-  
page, and to provide as many as they can of sixty  
Tun and upwards. And the year following *b* lay- *b Claus. an. 2*  
eth the like charge upon seventy six Port-Towns *E. 3.*  
for all Ships of forty Tun and more. And *an. 10.*  
the like at their own charge, besides a contri- *c Claus. an. 10.*  
bution of money, *d* for payment whereof the Offi- *d Rot. Scotie*  
cers are commanded, *ut eas per districtiones & anno 10. m. 9.*  
*alias punitiones prout expedire viderint compel-* *& Rot. Alman.*  
*lent*, to force it by distraining, and what other pu- *an. 12. m. 12.*  
nishments they shall find expedient. Injoyning  
such Merchants of London, *qui ex transmarinis*  
*passagiis lucra adquirunt*, who had traffick in for-  
eign parts, to furnish Ships for war at their own  
Charge. *e* And *anno 13.* the Cinque-Ports set *e Rot. Scotie*  
out to sea thirty Ships, and maintain them during *anno 13 E. 3.*  
the service, half at their own, half at the Councils *m. 15.*  
charge. Fourscore Ships being furnished and de-  
frayed by the *Out-Ports*, the Admiral directed to  
embargue all other Ships for the Kings service.  
*f* And although the Subject found this an infinite *f Rot. Scotie*  
grievance, yet could he (upon humble complaint *anno 10 E. 3.*  
in *Parliament*) receive no further relief, than  
that the King would not have it otherwise than  
before. *g* *g Rot. Alman.*  
*an. 1 E. 3. m. 2.*

For Provision of his Arms, the King took at  
one time, and at a rate of loss to the Subject,  
nineteen thousand quarters of Grain, two thousand  
two hundred Oxen salted, and three thousand Ba-  
cons ;

a Rot. Scotie  
anno 10. m. 17.

cons; besides of other Provisions an infinite quantity. a The like very frequent all his Reign *pro guerris necessariis, ubi id magis commode fieri poterat*, for the necessities of his wars, where it could be done with more conveniency.

b Rot. Scotie  
anno 1. m. 2.

The Persons of all his meaner Subjects from sixteen to sixty he causeth b to be armed in readines *ad premonitionem 5. dierum*, at five dayes warning; the Decrepit to contribute *ad expensas premissorum*, towards the expences of the rest: and to arrest the Bodies of the disobedient, that *de ipsis tanquam de inimicis sumat vindictam*, they might be dealt withal as enemies. c The Gentry

c Rot. Scotie  
anno 1.

d Parla. an. 13  
E. 3. Parla.  
anno 14 E. 3.

and Nobility supplying the King in his wars, and at their own charge, d sometimes with seven or eight hundred men at Arms, and two or three thousand Archers, as anno 13. with other proportions at divers years following. And the Bishops ordered e to furnish *Armis & Equis competentibus*, serviceable Arms and Horses, so many as occasion required: and their Persons (together with the Lay Nobility) commanded f *quod sint parati Equis & Armis & toto servitio debito*, with Horse and Arms and all necessary accoutrements to attend the King in his wars.

e Rot. Franc.  
anno 45.

f Claus. an. 1  
E. 3. m. 1.

g Parl. an. 22  
E. 3. n. 9.

These wars (which as Edward the third professeth himself in Parliament, g could not without his great danger and loss of Honour be maintained, unless by perpetual Aid from the Subjects) were so grievous to them, that in anno 22. they complain in Parliament of the miseries they underwent thereby: As of their Aids advanced to forty shillings Fine, that by law should be but twenty shillings. Their setting forth of men, and the Kings taking of their Victuals without payment

ment; The Sea left to the charge of their keeping, and from their Wools by way of Subsidy sixty thousand pound yearly exacted without Law; besides the lending of two thousand Sacks, and themselves restrained from transporting any. But such was the Necessity of these times, that neither they had redress of their Complaint, nor the State one year discharged of Contribution all his Reign.

*Richard* succeeding his Grandfather declareth both *a anno* 2. and 14. that the great Wars he was left in, and the Territories he inherited beyond Sea could not be maintained, except the Subject of this Realm gave supply of means thereto. He therefore of the Clergy and Laity took once the tenth of all their lands, and thrice of the goods of the Commons the like entirely, and six times the half, twelve times a fifteenth, and six times the moiety: And had *anno* 21. granted one Tenth to him, and a fifteenth and a half of either of them yearly for the term of life. From out of the Burroughs and Cities thrice a full Tenth, and once a Moiety. Out of all Merchandises he received three years 6 *d.* in the pound, and once 12 *d.* And for every Tun of Wine, and such Commodities, for two years six pence, doubling it for as many, and trebling it for three years after. The Custom of Wolls, &c. by *Edward* the first rated at a Noble the Sack, and under his Son increased as much more, was to this King advanced to twenty two shillings eight pence, which singly for eight years he had granted unto him, besides once for three years, and once for four, having it after improved to thirty four shillings four pence, and again to forty three shillings four pence the Sack.

The

*Richard* 2.  
a *Parl. an.* 2.  
& 14. *Rot.* 2.  
n. 2.



The sum of one of these Subsidies in *anno* 14. amounted to one hundred and sixty thousand pound. From out of the goods of the Clergie he had eight Tenths and a half; and one out of those and the Laiery together; besides a Loan *anno* 5. of sixty thousand pound. By the poll or heads of all his people from above fifteen years, he collected twice a Contribution, assessed proportional from the *Begger* to the *Duke*: Besides in strength of *Prerogative* only, of every Ship and Fisherman six pence the Tun: the like of *Newcastle* Coals, and of every Last of Corn inwards or outwards the like sum.

(a) Rot. Pat.  
anno 2 R. 2.  
m. 3.

To furnish his journey for *Ireland* he took their Horses, Armour, Cattel. (a) *Hinc factus est suis Subditis invisus*, Hereupon he came to be hated by his People, saith the Bishop of *London*. And so it seemed: For at his deposing, it was one of the objected Articles against him.

He the first year of his Reign imposed upon his Subjects, as formerly his Ancestors had done, a personal service *ab anno primo*, That all the Clergie should array *Armis & Equis competentibus*, with serviceable Horses and Arms, from the age of sixteen to sixty, & *eos in Millenis & Centenis poni faciant*, & cause them to be entred into Regiments and Companies. And two years after commanded all according to their Tenures by service to fit themselves *Equis & Armis*, with Horse & Arms to attend the wars. But these the courses of elder times were about this time much altered, and the King for the most part ever supplied in his wars by contract with the Nobility and Gentry, to serve him with so many men, and so long, and at such a rate as he and they by Indenture accorded; of which

which there are in the *Pell* plenty yet remaining. Thus under grievous burdens did the State labour continually all his time ; for his Treasury being wastefully emptied, was, as *Tacitus* saith of *Tiberius*, (a) *Scelere replendum*, to be filled some ill way ; by which he meant intolerable racking of the people. Hence it was that often in this Kings time (b) the Subjects humbly beg some ease of the insupportable Tallages.

(a) *Tacit. lib. 2.*

(b) *Rot. Parl. annis 3, 4, & 5 R. 2.*

But he little regarding the tears or groans of his heartless People, answered them as *an. 4.* That their Petition and his Honour could not consist together. (c) They again plead extream poverty, in barr of further relief ; complaining that good money was transported, and the State enforced to use base ; and that the price of Wooll by wars (to their utter impoverishing ) was fallen, and that the Kings want was only the ill goverment of his Revenues ; and therefore crave to have his present Officers removed : and very hardly would be drawn any more to tax themselves, but conditionally, and with this Limitation, That their money should be received, expended, and accounted for to themselves, and by Treasurers of their own election ; and are content to lend in the end ; loading this poor Kings dejected Fortune with the reproachful weight of these their many Burthens.

(c) *Rot. Parl. anno 1 H. 4. n. 32.*

*Henry* the fourth in thirteen years out of the *Henry 4.* land of his people received twice relief ; once *auxilia de medietate Feodorum*, an Aid of the moiety of the Fees, and again a Noble out of every twenty pound throughout all the Realm. Out of the Goods of the Commons four times a Tenth, besides one for three years, and the like one and a half for two. By several grants and years five Fifteens,

Fifteens, besides one for two and one for three years. Out of Staple Commodities of Wools, Fells, &c. one Subsidy for one year, four for two apiece, and one for three years. A Poundage at 8 d. once, four times twelve pence, whereof the last was for two years. The like number and years of the Tunnage, the first only rated at two shillings, the rest at three shillings the Tun. Out of the Moveables of the Clergie thrice a Tenth, and twice a moiety; as also of every stipendary Minister, Frier, and such meaner of persons six shillings eight pence apiece. Besides all these, of all he took anno 8. a (a) Contribution *ita gravis*, so heavy, that it was granted *ea conditione, ne trahatur in Exemplum, & ut Evidentia post datum Computum cremarentur*, upon this condition, that it should not be made an Example to following times, and that after the Account the Evidences should be burnt.

(a) Hist. Tho. Walsingham.

Henry 3.

Next him succeeded his Son *Henry* the fifth; in whose nine years Reign I find no charge imposed upon the Land of the Subjects. Out of the Goods of the Commons he received six times the tenth and the fifteenth entirely, and once two thirds only of Staple wares; a Subsidy once for four years, and after for life: three shillings Tunnage, and twelve pence poundage for the like terms as the former Subsidies. Thrice he had the Tenth of his Clergy. And in the eighth of his Reign, when the *Chancellor* bewailed to him in Parliament the Feebleness and Poverty of the People by reason of wars and scarcity of money, he (who of as many attempts as he undertook, *teridem fecit Monumenta victorie*, raised himself so many Monuments of Victory,) yet for redress and ease of those



those miseries (as *Livy* saith of an excellent Soldier) *Pacem voluit etiam quia vincere potuit*, he preferred Peace because he knew he could overcome. And left in the ninth year of his Reign a peaceable succession and *Heir, nimum felix malo* Henry 6. *suo*, too happy to his own undoing, as the event proved. For retaining nothing *ex paterna Majestate prater speciem nominis*, of his Fathers Greatness more than the specious Name of a Great King, by Fear and Facility he laid the way open to his Factionous Ambitious Kindred, to work themselves into popular Favour, and himself into Contempt: which was soon done by leading the easie King by Expence into Extremity, and the People into Burdens. For besides the Resumptions he took of his own and Fathers Grants, (which was of purpose plotted to make a consumption of Duty and Affection towards him) he out of the old inheritance of his Subjects exacted six pence in the pound *anno 14.* and doubled twice that valuation, not only on all lands purchased from the entrance of *Edward* the first, but of all Free-hold and Coppy-hold under 200 *l.* and two in twenty of all above. He further imposed first six shillings eight pence, and then twenty shillings upon every Knights Fee. Out of the goods of the Commons he had six tenths, whereof one for three years, besides three moieties, and one third; of fiftens three halves, one third, and eight entire, of which there was of two a three years grant. Besides these former, out of the Woolls he had 37107 *l.* raised by a moiety of a tenth and fifteenth, and again of all goods six shillings eight pence in the pound. Of the Merchant, of Subsidies rated as in former times, he had them by grant once but for a year,

E the

*Answers to the Reasons*

the like doubled for two, and trebled for three and a half. This Subsidy advanced to thirty three shillings four pence of *Denizens*, and fifty three shillings four pence of *Aliens*. The Sack of Wooll was twice granted for four years at a time, and *anno* 31. for term of the Kings life. Besides a Subsidy alone of *Alien* goods, Tonnage and Poundage improved to six shillings eight pence he took in his eighteenth year. And after the Rates of his Fathers time he had it first thrice by his several grants and years, then as often for two years, and again by a new grant for five years, and in the end for term of his life. Of the Clergie he had besides one half of *Dismes*, four entire tenths. And by the State in general *an*. 31. two thousand Archers maintained for half a year at the common Charge. By the *Poll* he exacted *anno* 18. of every Merchant Stranger if a householder sixteen shillings apiece, if none six pence. And *anno* 27. six shillings eight pence of every such Stranger, and twenty pence of their Clerks. *An*. 31. he had granted for term of life ten pounds a year of all Inhabitants meer *Aliens*, and a third less of *Denizens*, and twenty shillings of every Stranger Merchant that came into the land. The first *Monopolies* I find were grounded upon the extremities of these times; for in *anno* 29. the *Spinellos*, Merchants of *Genoa*, had by grant for eight thousand pound the sole Trade of many Staple-Commodities. As the Merchants of *Souhampton* had all *Allome* for the like sum. Yet for all the Contributions, Taxes and Shifts, (whereby the impoverished People were enforced to petition redress; for which a Parliament was *anno* 10. summoned only,) the Kings Coffers were so empty, and the yearly Revenues so short, as the Lord Treasurer

Nota First  
*Monopolie.*

Treasurer was constrained \* *an. 11.* to com- \* *Rot. Parl.*  
plain in Parliament of the one, and declared there *an. 11 H. 6.*  
the other to want thirty five thousand pound of  
the needful expence, as the best motive to work  
a Relief from the Common-wealth: which was  
by the people in part effected. (a) But by (a) *Rot. Parl.*  
*anno 18.* the debts were swoln again so great, *an. 18 Hen. 6.*  
that the Parliament was reinforced not only to *n. 38.*  
see them, but to support and victual his house-  
hold. Thus was this unhappy Princes Reign  
all war and waste: and in the end, as one saith  
of (b) *Lepidus, de Militibus & de fortuna de-* (b) *Ex Partic-*  
*ferbatur,* being forsaken both of Souldiers and *ulo.*  
Fortune, he was left a while to a disgraced life,  
*spoliatus quam suerit non poterat dignitare,* and  
despoiled of that Dignity which he was not able to  
maintain.  
Edward the fourth, (c) besides two resumpri- Edward 4.  
ons not only of the Grants of such Kings as he (c) *Rot. Parl.*  
accounted *de facto*, and not *de jure* to Reign, but *an. 2, & 8*  
also of those made by (d) himself, and that Sea of (d) *Placita*  
profit that by infinite *Atraintures* flowed daily in- *corona.*  
to his Treasury, took notwithstanding of the Lords  
Spiritual and Temporal only a Tenth of their  
yearly possessions, and of the Commons six  
Tenths, three quarters, and the like proportion  
of Fifteens: A Benevolence in *anno 14.* which (c) *Chron.*  
(e) *Fabian* calleth a new Contribution: And *Fabiani.*  
charged them (f) *anno 12.* with wages of his Ar- (f) *Rot. Parl.*  
chers to a summ of 51117 l. Of the Merchan: he *anno 12 E. 4.*  
had Tonnage and Poundage for term of life. Be- *n. 8.*  
sides of Strangers, as well *Denizons* as others, a  
Subsidy the (g) twenty second year of his Reign. (g) *Rot. Parl.*  
Leaving his Kingdom in the next to the few dayes  
of his son Edward the fifth. For, Edward 5.



*Ostendunt terris hunc tantum Fata, nec ultra  
Esse sumunt.*—The Fates only shewed him to  
the world, and took him away again.

Richard 3.

Richard his Brother succeeded, *homo ingenio-  
sissime nequam, & facundus malo publico*, a  
man most ingeniously mischievous, and full of  
Art to beguile the people. He to make a just lem-  
blance of his unjust entry, besides his Act of Parli-  
ament full of dangerous Untruths, dissembled the  
part of an excellent Prince, making the Commons  
believe by a Statute, to which he gave first form, as  
life, discharging them for ever from all exactions  
called *Benevolences*, that his opinion was, *Ditare  
magis esse Regium quam discescere*, that it was more  
King-like to enrich his Subjects, than to grow rich  
himself. Whereas he did but lively imitate  
*Nero*, that took away the law *Manlia de vecti-  
galibus*, only *ut gratiosior esset populus*, to ingra-  
tiate himself the more with the people. And so all  
his short Reign I find recorded but once any Tax  
upon the people, and that was Tenth granted by  
the Clergie of both Provinces.

Henry 7.

Henry the seventh succeeding, resumed in the  
third of his Reign most of the grants of Office  
made by the Usurper or his Brother, and assessed  
upon the land only of his Subjects but one Aid in  
*anno 19.* out of their Goods and Lands a tenth  
peny, and of their Goods only three times the  
Tenth, five Fifteens, besides a Tenth and Fifteenth  
arising to 120000*l.* He took three Subsidies,  
whereof the last was not above 36000*l.* (a) and  
one *Benevolence*, the proportion of every Alder-  
man being 300*l.* and the entire sum of the  
City of London 9688*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* Of the  
Clergie he had twice the Tenth, and 25000*l.*  
by

(a) Fabian.

by way of *Subsidy*. (a) And of them and the Commons two Loans; the City of *Lond.* rated at 6000 *l.* the other not definite in proportion, but so assessed as Commissioners and the Lenders could agree. (a) *Ex litera missa Abbatis. Barking manu Regis H. 7.*

And as well to ease the expence of wars, as issue of the good money going over to *Bullen*, (b) he stamped an allayed Coin then usually termed *Dandeprats*: A course that necessity after enforced his Son and Successors to practise, and is an apparent *Symptome* of a consumed State. But that whereby he heaped up his mass of Treasure, ((c) for he left in Bullion four millions and a half, besides his Plate, Jewels, and rich attire of house) was by sale of Offices, redemption of Penalties, dispensing with Laws, and such like, to a yearly value of 120000 *l.* (b) *Ex litera Ducis Norfolcie.*  
(c) *Ex lib. Acquit. int. Regem & Dudly R. C.*

His Successor, reaping the fruit of his Fathers *Henry 8.* labour, gave ease of burthen to the Subjects his first two years; taking within the compass of his other thirty four three Tenths of the Commons, four Fifteens, six Subsidies, whereof that *an. 4.* amounted to 16000 *l.* and that *anno 7.* 110000 *l.* *Tonnage* he had and *Poundage* once for a year, and after for term of life. Of the Clergie four Tenths by one grant, and three by severall, every of them not less than 25084 *l.* Of *Subsidies* he had one of the Province of *Canterbury*, another of both; the *Stipendary* Ministers there to be taxed according to the rate of their wages. In *anno 22.* they granted a moiety of all their Goods and Lands, payable by equal portion in five years, every part arising to 95000 *l.* And not long after he had added 150000 *l.* to the yearly Revenues of his Crown, by an inhumane spoil of sacred Monuments, and impious ruine of holy Churches,

Churches, if Gods blessing could have accompanied so foul an Act. And as these former Collections be grounded upon Law, so did he many upon *Prerogative*: As *Benevolences* and Loans from the Clergie and Commons. Of the first there were two remarkable, that in *anno* 17. acted by Commissioners, who as themselves were sworn to Secrecy, so were they to swear all those with whom they conferr or contract. The Rates directed by instructions, as the thirds of all Goods, Offices, Land above 20 *l.* and the fourth under. And although the Recusants (whether from Disobedience or Inability) are threatned with Convention before the Council, Imprisonment, and Confiscation of Goods; yet in the (a) *Design* Original under the Kings hand, it hath so fair a name as an *Amicable Grant*. The other about (b) *an.* 36. exacteth out of all Goods, Offices, land from forty shillings to 20 *l.* 8 *d.* in the pound, and of all above 12 *d.* And amongst the many Loans, there is none more notorious than that of *an.* 14. (c) which was 10 *l.* in the hundred of all Goods, Jewels, Utensils, and Land from 20 *l.* to 300 *l.* and twenty marks of all above, as far as the Subjects Fortune, revealed by the extremity of his own Oath, would extend. And to stop as well intentions if any had been, as expectations of repayment of such Loans, (d) the Parliament in *an.* 21. acquitteth the King of every Privy Seal or *Letter Misserie*. *Edward* the sixth his Son, besides Tonnage and Poundage for life, *an.* 1. received of his Lay-Subjects six Fifteens, and of both three Subsidies, leaving one of the Temporality ungathered: which his Sister *Mary* remitted in *an.* 1. of her reign; yet after

(a) *Ex originali signat. manus Regis.*

(b) *Ex originali instructi-one.*

(c) *Ex instructi. originali an.* 14 *H.* 8.

(d) *Rot. Parl. an.* 21 *H.* 8.

*Edward* 6.

*Q.* *Mary.*



after (incited by the *French* King succouring her Rebels, and suffering her money adulterated in his Dominions, purpofely to be hither transported, as alfo to fide the quarrel of *Philip* her husband againft him) being drawn into wars, She was inforced to prefs upon her people, who befides the Loan in *an. 3.* and Tonnage and Poundage *an. 1.* for term of life granted unto her by *Parliament*, took five Fifteens of the Commons, and of them and the Clergie three years Subfides.

Her Sister of happy memory fucceeding, be- Q. Elizabeth.  
fides divers Loans of her people and others in forreign parts, (as *anno 5.* when *William Herle* was difpatched into *Germany* to take up at Interest for fix years great fumms of money, the like *anno 18.* from the Merchants of *Colen* and *Hamburgh* upon Bond of the City of *London*, and again of *Spinello* and *Pallavicini* upon the former security, strengthened with the affurance alfo of many of her chiefeft Councillors) had by grant of her Subjects thirty eight Fifteens, twenty Subfides of the Commons, and eighteen of the Clergie. All which together rofe to a fum of two Millions and 800000 l.

**H**AVING thus far (with as light a hand as I Princes ex-  
could) drawn down the many and mighty tremities be-  
burdens of the Common-wealth, if but with a yond the ease  
touch of the Princes Extremities beyond the ease of their peo-  
of these former helps I heighten up this draught, it ple by reason  
will with much more life and lustre expreis the of wars.  
Figure of wars Misery. (a) The Credit of Kings so Credit of  
it hath brought to so low an ebb, that when by Kings so  
not borrow, but upon surety and extream interest. much impai-  
Paris. (a) Matth. red, that  
they could

(b) Rot.  
Pat. anno 13  
E. 3. m. 13.

force of necessity they borrowed money, they could not take it up but by collateral security, and extream Interest. As *Edward the third* in the Patent to (b) *William de la Poole* confesseth that *propter defectum pecunie negotia sua fuerunt periculosissime retardata*, for want of money his affairs were dangerously delayed, (they are the words of the record) and the honour of him and his Royal Army *magne fuit depressioni patenter expositus, & progressus non sine dedecore suo perpetuo impeditus*, he was brought to a manifest low condition, and his proceeding to his great dishonour had been constantly hindered; if *De la Poole* had not as well supplied him with the credit of his Security, as with the best ability of his own Purse. For which service he honoured him and his posterity with the degree of *Baronets*, and five hundred pound land of inheritance.

Nota.

The interest of *Henry 3.* *ad plus quam centum quotidie libras ascenderat, ita ut immineret tam Clero quam Populo Anglia Desolatio & Ruina*, came to more than a hundred pound a day, so that present ruine and desolation hung over the heads as well of the Clergie as the People.

(a) Ex In-  
struct. Thome  
Gresham, anno  
1557.

Queen *Mary* (a) borrowed in *Flanders* at fourteen in the hundred, besides *Brocage* upon collateral security.

(b) Ex In-  
struct. Will-  
lielm. Herle 16.  
August. an. 5  
Eliz. Simi-  
liter.

The late *Queen* was enforced (b) to the like thrice with Strangers upon the City of *Londons* assurance, as before, and with her (c) own Subjects after upon Mortgage of Land. A course more moderate than either that of the first *William*, that took out of Churches such money as several men had committed thither for more security:

(c) Thome  
Gresham, 1563  
p. 76.

Security : (a) or that of *Charles* the fifth, that to repair the waste of his *Italian* wars, went in person to *Barcellona*, to seize into his hands a Mass of money called *Depositum Tabula*, which as well Strangers as Subjects had there laid up in Sanctuary. But these are not the conditions of Princes of our times only : for in the lives of *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Vespasian*, *Suetonius* of them severally writeth, *Exhaustus & egenus Calumniis rapinisque intendit animum*, being drawn dry and grown poor, they bent their minds to Calumnies and Rapines. For *Perniciosa res est in Imperante penuritus*, Want in a Prince is a dangerous thing ; and as *Theodoricus* said, *Periculosissimum animal est Rex pauper*, a Poor King is the most dangerous creature living.

It hath abated the Regalities of Houses ; an. 16. of *Richard* the second and 18. (b) of *Henry* 6. when as well from want of means, as the Subjects Petitions in Parliament, (for *Expeditissima est ratio augendi Censui detrudere Sumptibus*, the readiest way to raise the Revenue is to take down Expences,) they have much lessened their Hospitality ; their Tables being either destroyed by their Subjects, as of *Henry* the sixth, or as *Henry* the third, when by necessity (c) *ita consueta Regalis Mensae hospitalitas abbreviata fuit, ut (postposita solita verecundia) cum Abbatibus, Clericis, & viris satis humilibus hospitalia quaesivit & prandia* ; the wonted hospitality of the Kings Table was sunk so low, that (without farther shame) he many times lodged and dined with Abbots, Clerks, and very mean Persons.

(a) *Ex litteris Edm. Lee orat. Regis H. 8. in Hist. anno 22.*

Kings enforced to abate their hospitality.

(b) *Ex Rot. Par. 18 H. 6.*

(c) *Ex hist. majori Matth. Paris.*



Kings enforced to pawn and sell their Dominions.

(a) Rot. Pat. anno 51 H. 3. m. 17.

(b) Ex contract. orig. & Hist. Norman.

(c) Rot. Vasc.

5 E. 2. Rot.

finum an. 8.

Rot. cui titulus,

ex tract. de donationib.

a. 9. & 10 E. 2.

Kings enforced to make

Refumption

of their

Lands.

(d) Rot. Parl.

anno 1 R. 2.

(e) Rot. Parl.

anno 1 Hen. 5.

n. 12.

(f) Rot. Parl.

anno 28 H. 6.

& E. 4.

(g) Ex legibus

Theodos. &

Valentinian.

in Codice.

Kings enforced to pawn

and sell their

Jewels.

It hath caused our Kings to sell and alienate the possessions of the Crown : as Henry the third

(a) who gave to Edward his son *Licentiam pignoriandi terram Vasconie*, leave to pawn the Duchy of Gascoign ; And caused himself long after by the like occasions, to sell for 300000 l. (except some pittances reserved)

(b) entire Signiory of Normandy. What late Mistris and her Father did, is yet fresh in memory. But this mischief hath trenched down

into the Fortunes and Affections of the Subject when Princes to repair the breach of their own Revenues, have often resumed the possessions of

their people ; as (c) Edward the second an. 5. & 10. *Omnes donationes per Regem factas in damnum & diminutionem Regis & Corone* full

all the Grants made by the King to the lessee, and prejudicing of the King and his Crown (d) Richard the second anno 1. did the like of

Grants made to unworthy persons by his Grants father, and recalled all Patents dated since the fortieth of Edward the third. Thus did Henry

(e) an. 1. and (f) Hen. 6. in the twenty eighth his Reign, Edward 4. in anno 3. and 12. And Hen. 7. in an. 3. with all Offices of his Crown

granted either by the Usurper or his Brother. Neither is this in it self unjust, since as well by reason of State as Rules of best Government, the

Revenues and Profits (g) *qua ad sacrum Patrimonium Principis pertinent*, which belong to the sacred Patrimony of the Prince, should remain firm

and unbroken.

But when neither Credit, Frugality, or Sale of Lands would stop the gulf of want, our Princes have been so near beset, as with Necessity

and Antonius the Emperours to sell and pawn  
their Jewels. The Archbishop of York had  
power from Henry the third an. 26. (a) (in wars  
beyond Sea) *impignorandi Focalia Regis ubi-  
unque in Anglia pro pecunia perquirenda*, to  
pawn the Kings Jewels any where in England to  
raise money. (b) Edward the first sendeth Egi-  
lius Andevar ad *Focalia sua impignoranda*, to  
pawn his Jewels. (c) Edward the third pawn-  
ed his Jewels to pay the L. Beaumont and the  
strangers their wages in war. The Black  
Prince was constrained to break his Plate into Mo-  
ney to pay his Souldiers.

(e) Richard the second pawned *Vasa aurea &  
diversa Focalia*, Vessels of Gold and divers  
Jewels to Sir Robert Knowles. (f) Henry the  
fourth anno 3. to a Merchant for money *invadi-  
vit Tabellam & Trifellas suas Argenteas de  
Hispania*, ingaged his Tablet and stools of Silver  
which he had from Spain. (g) Henry the sixth  
selleth and selleth to the Cardinal of Winchester  
and others an. 10, 12, and 29. (h) many par-  
tels of his rich Jewels. And the late Queen in  
the end of her dayes (to ease her Subjects) did the  
like with many in the Tower.

And Extremity hath yet stretched some of our  
Kings to so high a strain of Shift, that Edward  
the third (i) *invadiavit magnam Coronam An-  
glie*, pawned his Imperial Crown three several  
times; an. 17. *in partibus transmarinis* in for-  
raign parts, and twice to Sir John Weseham his  
Merchant, first in the (k) twenty fourth, and  
after (l) an. 30. in whose custody it remained  
eight years. To Henry Bishop of Winchester  
Henry the fifth *invadiavit magnam Coronam an-  
glicam*,

(a) Rot. Pat.  
anno 26 H. 3.  
m. 1. Similiter  
an. 56 H. 3.  
in 21. m.

(b) Rot. Pat.  
Claus. an. 2  
E. 1. m. 7.  
(c) Claus. an. 1  
E. 3.  
(d) Tho. Wal-  
tingham.

(e) Ex origin.  
de anno 6  
R. 2. Rot. 17.  
(f) Pat. an. 3  
H. 4. m. 3.

(g) Pat. an.  
10 Hen. 6.  
Pat. anno 12  
H. 6. m. 13.  
(h) Pat. an. 29  
H. 6. m. 20.

Kings enfor-  
ced to pawn  
their Regal  
Crown.

(i) Pat. Pars  
1. an. 17 E. 3.  
(k) Pat. an.  
24. m. 21.  
(l) Claus. an. 30  
E. 3. Com. de  
Ter. Hill. 38  
E. 3. ex parte  
Rem. Regis.

(a) Pat. an. 5  
H. 3. m. 23.  
& similiter  
an. 9. Rot. Pat.  
an. 51 H. 3.  
m. 17. & 18.

(b) Ex histo-  
ria Guicciar-  
dini.

(a) Ex hist.  
S. Albani.

ream, gaged his Imperial Crown of Gold in the fifth of his Reign. And when Henry the third had laid to gage (a) *omnia Insignia Regalia*, his Robes and Kingly Ornaments, and upon assurance of redelivery or satisfaction had pawned *Aurum & Jocalia Feretri S. Edwardi Confessoris*, the Gold and Jewels belonging to the Shrine of S. Edward the Confessor, (A course more moderate than by force to have taken, as William the Conquerour did the Chalice and Shrines of other Churches, or as (b) Clement the seventh who to pay the Souldiers of Charles the fifth melted the Consecrated Vessels) was in the end, when he had neither means of his own left nor reputation with others, constrained to beg relief of his Subjects in this low strain, (c) *Pauper sum, omni destitutus Thesauro; necesse habeo ut me juvetis: nec aliquid erigo nisi per gratiam*: I am poor, and have no Treasure left; ye must needs relieve me: neither do I demand any thing but of your meer love and courtesy: And turning to the Abbot of Ramsey, to say, *Amice, obnixè supplico quatenus me juvas mihi centum libras conferendo*, My friend, I beseech thee for Gods sake to help me with an hundred pound: adding withall *majorem Eleemosynam fore sibi juvamen conferre pecuniamve, quam alicui ostiatim mendicanti*, that it would be a greater deed of Charity to contribute to his Wants, than to give to one that begged from door to door. So that of the waste of these times and want of those Princes I may truly with the Satyrists say,

*Ossa vides Regum vacuis exuta medullis.*

Thou seest the Bones of Kings spoil'd of their Marrow.



It now resteth by some few particulars to observe with what Wealth we have returned home, loaden with the Spoils of our Enemies; since no motives are so powerful to the Common greedy People as the hopes of gain, which will easily enforce them

In place of spoil the Souldiers return oppressed with extream Beggery.

(a) *Ire super gladios, superque Cadavera patrum,*  
*Et casos calcare Duces, ———*

(a) *Lucan. de Bello Civili lib. 7.*

Tread upon Swords, and on their Fathers Graves,  
And spurn their slaughter'd Captains——

In the Expeditions of Henry the third, their purchases were so great, that the (b) Londoners were more grieved at the intolerable Beggeries that the King and his Army brought back, than for the expence of their own moneys: For

(b) *Mat. Paris pag. 580.*

*Cum labor in damno est crescit mortalis egestas,*

When Toil brings Loss, Begg'ry must needs increase.

The same King, although called in by the Nobility of France (c) in Faction against their Master, returned no better rewarded than *Consumpta pecunia infinita, & Nobilibus & Militibus innumerabilibus vel Morti datis vel infirmitati, vel fame attenuatis, vel ad extremam redactis paupertatem,* with the having spent an infinite deal of money, his Nobles and Souldiers with-

(c) *Hist. Mat. Paris p. 1358.*

out

out number being either slain, or sickly, maimed, or half-starved, or else reduced to extreme poverty.

*Innocentius* the Pope repayed the expence of *Henry* the third and his people in his *Sicilian* Service with no better wages than this Scoffe, That

(a) *Mat. Paris*  
pag. 909.

England was (a) *Puteus inexhaustus quem nullus poterat exsiccare*, a Well not to be emptied which no man could draw dry. What the succeeding times afforded may be well gathered out of the many Petitions in Parliament, in the twenty second of *Edward* the third, the fourth and seventh of *Richard* the second, the eighth of *Henry* the fifth, and tenth of *Henry* the sixth, ever complaining of the extreme Beggery the people brought home, and desiring some speedy Relief.

(b) *Ex lit.*  
*Cardin. wolfradi*  
*ad Card. Sordani.*

The Treasure (b) *Henry* the eighth spent in aid of *Maximilian* about recovery of *Verona* *nullum aliud factum nisi damnum & dedecus peperit*, brought him nothing else but Loss and Dishonour. For the *Emperour* having his turn served, delivered contrary to Contract, that City to the *French*, threatening to Confederates with them, *ni Rex ei continuo persolveret*, unless the King would forthwith pay him down a great sum of money; believing as the words are) *Minis & terrore ab hoc Rege pecuniam posse haberi*, that this King would part with his money upon threatnings and great words. For the great Army of this King sent over into *France*, and the Million almost of Crowns he supplied the *Emperour* and *Duke* of *Bourbon* with in their wars of *Millan*, his People enduring new and unheard of Taxes at home, and his Souldiers great Extremity abroad, he

he was himself at the last of all, (their ends effected) having spent the Treasure of his Father, and the Bounty of his Subjects, forsaken and left as the Pasquil painted him, *inter Moysem, Christum & Mahometem*, betwixt *Moses, Christ* and *Mahomet*, with this word, *Quo me uertam*. Which way to turn me I know not. For two Millions of (a) Crowns bestowed in purchase of *Tournay*, not without suit of his own, he delivered it with little or no recompence: and rated his potential Interest of *France* at no greater sum than an Annuity (b) of 100000 Crowns. What from the thirtieth of this King until the last of his son *Edward* the sixth for (c) 3173478 *l.* 5 *s.* 4 *d.* spent at Sea and Land in Forraign wars, his State received of enrichment, it seemeth so mean, as not worthy any place either in Story or Accompts.

(a) Ex In-  
strum. Rich.  
Wingfield.

(b) Ex lit. Tho.  
Wolsey Episc.  
Lincoln.

(c) Ex com-  
puto in Ar-  
chivis Rob.  
Com. Salish.

Until the late *Queen* was drawn into wars, she had in Treasure 700000 *l.* but after she was once intangled, it cost her before the thirtieth of her Reign 1517351 *l.* at which time she was but entering into the vastness of her future Charge: For the annual expence of 126000 *l.* in the Low-Countries, from 1587. until 1593. the yearly disbursement for (d) *Flushing* and the *Brill* 18482 *l.* the debts of the States 800000 *l.* and the Aides of the *French* King since he attained to that Crown to above 401734 *l.* was after that time. Thus by reason of war, besides Taxes upon her People to the Summ of two Millions, and eight hundred thousand pounds by Subsidies, Tenths and Fifteens, she hath spent of her Lands, Jewels and Revenues an infinite proportion.

(d) Ex tra-  
ctat. an. 1598.



(a) *Ex computo  
deliberat.*

*Domino The-  
saur. Bur-  
leigh.*

(b) *Ex computo*

*Joannis  
Hawkins  
Thesaur.  
Navie.*

\* *Hor. Epo. 7.*

As for the imaginary Profit grown by the many rich Spoils at Sea and Attempts in Spain it may be well cast up by two examples of our best Fortunes. The Journey of *Cales* (a) defrayed not the Charge to her Majesty by 64000*l*. And our times of most advantage by Prizes between (b) anno 30, and 34 of the *Queen*, where in we received but 64044 *l*. defrayed not the Charge of her Navy, arising in the same year to 275761 *l*. As to the greatest Loss, expence of *Christian Blood*, it may well suffice to bemoan with \* *Horace*,

*Parumne Campis atque Neptuno superfusum est  
Latini sanguinis?*

*Necque hic Lupis mos nec fuit Leonibus  
Unquam, nisi in dispar, feris.*

Is there as yet so little Latine Blood  
Spilt on the Fields and Floods?  
Nor Wolves nor Lions do we ever find  
So cruel to their kind.

Forraign Do-  
minions al-  
waies charge,  
no benefit.

Example in  
Normandy.

(c) *Mat. Par.*

**T**HE last motive from Utility is, increase of Re-  
venues to the publick Treasury by addition  
of Forreign Dominions. Which can receive no  
answer so full of satisfaction, as to instance the  
particular Summs, exhausted in every Age to  
retain them. Beginning first with the *Duchie*  
of *Normandy*: For retention whereof *William*  
the *Conquerour* from hence, (as the (c) Author  
saith) laden *Thesauris innumeris*, with unac-  
countable Treasure, exacted *sive per fas sive per*  
*nefas*, in *Normanniam transfretavit*, gather-  
ed together by hook or by crook, wasted  
over

over into *Normandy*. His Son (a) *ad retinendam* (a) *Ex legibus antiquis.*  
*Normanniam, Angliam excoriat*, to retain  
*Normandy* flayed off *Englands* skin. To the  
 same end by (b) *Henry* the first, *Anglia fuit bo-* (b) *Ex Walt. Gisborn.*  
*nis spoliata*, *England* was despoiled of its Goods. (c) *Ex lib. Rubro.*  
 His (c) Grand-child took *Scutagium pro Exer-*  
*citu Normannie*, a Scutage for his army in *Nor-*  
*mandy* three times at a high rate: and was infor-  
 ced then against incursions of the *French* to build  
 and man (d) thirteen Castles *de novo & integro*, (d) *Ex lib. Pipnell.*  
 intirely new.

*Richard* the first (e) exacted heavily upon his  
 people, *ut potentes homines Regis Francia sibi don-* (e) *Rad. Cogshall.*  
*ciliaret, ut terram propriam Normannia tutaretur*,  
 therewith to make himself friends amongst the  
 most powerful Courtiers of *France*, so to keep  
 quietly his possessions in *Normandy*.

King *John* (f) as wearied with the Charge neg- (f) *Mat. Paris*  
 lected it: And his Son (g) feeling a burden more (g) *Ex Archiev. de re dit. Nor-*  
 than benefit, resigned his interest there for a man. tempore  
 little Money. When it was again reduced by H. 3.  
*Henry* the fifth, (h) the judgement in Council (h) *Ex origin. Instr. Domini Scrope.*  
 was, That the keeping of it would be no less of ex-  
 pence than to war forth for all *France*. In the  
 quiet possession of his Son *Henry* (i) (*John Duke*  
*of Bedford* then Regent) this *Duchy* cost the  
 Crown of *England* 10942 l. yearly. (k) In an. 10. (k) *Ex Rot. Par. de an.*  
 it appeareth by the Accompts of the Lord *Crom-*  
*wel* Treasurer of *England*, that out of the 11 H. 6,  
*Kings Exchequer* at *Westminster* the entertain-  
 ment of the Garrison and Governour was de-  
 frayed, the Rents of the *Duchy* not supporting  
 the charge ordinary. (l) When *Richard Duke* (l) *Ex lib. originali Roberti Cotton.*  
*of York* was in the fifteenth year of *Henry* the sixth  
 Regent, the certain Expence over-ballanced the

(a) Rot. Parl. Receipt 34008 l. And an. 27. (a) the Lord Hastings Chancellor of France declareth in Parliament, that Normandy was not able to maintain it self. But thus it continued not much longer, for this Crown was both eased of the Duchy and Charge shortly.

Aquitain,  
Gascoign,  
Guien.

(b) Rot. Liber.  
anno 26 H. 3.

(c) Rot. an. 22  
H. 6.

(d) Mat. Paris  
pag. 578.

(e) Ex Com.  
p. t. Willielm.  
de Osterham-  
pton, anno 17  
E. 2.

Of the Principality of Aquitain, the Duchy of Gascoign, Guien and the Members, I find the Rate thus in record. In the twenty sixth of Henry the third. (b) there was issued from the Treasurer and Chamberlains at Westminster 10000 l. for payments in Gascoign; besides an infinite proportion of Victuals and Munition thither sent. To retain this Duchy in Duty and possession, (c) this King was enforced to pawn his Jewels, being *alieno graviter obligatus, Thesauris, Donativis, Tallagiis, & extortionibus in Anglia consumptis*; very much indebted, and having spent all his Treasures, Grants, Tallages, and other Extortions in England. Besides the people there at his departure *extorserunt ab eo confessionem quadraginta millia Marcarum*, forced an acknowledgment from him of 40000 Marks. And a Story of that time saith of anno 38. (d) *Ille per multos labores & expensas inutiliter recuperavit Castra sua propria Vasconia*, with a great deal of toile and expence, he unprofitably recovered his own Castles in Gascoign; of which the Labour was more than ever the Benefit could be.

And thus it appeareth to have continued; for an. 17. (e) of Edward the second, the money disbursed out of England to defray the surcharge there came to 46595 l. 9 shillings 7 d. besides 29660 Quarters of Grain, and of Beeves and Bacons



Bacons an infinite propotion. In the first of Edward the third (a) the issues of Gascoign were 10000 l. above the Revenues. The Signiories in Aquitain (b) cost in eight years, ending the thirty sixth of this King, 192599 l. 4 shill. 3 d. *de receptis forinsecis* only, it was delivered in Parliament, an. 1 Rich:2. (c) that Gascoign, and some few other places that were then held in France, cost yearly this Crown 42000 l. And in the seven-teenth of this King (d) a Parliament was summoned for no other cause especial, than to provide money to clear the annual expences of those parts. The charge of Bordeaux (e) but one Town, surmounting in half a year all Rents and perquisites there 2232 l. As Fronsack in Aquitain 5787 l. for double that time; when the intire Duchy exceeded not 820 l. in yearly Revenues.

The Charge of Guien all the Reign of Henry the fourth (f) was 2200 l. annually out of the Exchequer of England. By accompt Aquitain (besides Guien 6606 l.) was the (g) first of Henry the fifth in surplusage of charge 11200 l. and the Town of (h) Bordeaux the five first years of the same King 6815 l. In the eleventh of (i) Henry the sixth, Sir John Ratcliffe Steward of Aquitain received from the Treasury of England *pro vadiis suis*, &c. 2729 l. and for expence in custody of Fronsack Castle only he payed 666 l. 13 shill. the profits of the Duchy no wayes able to clear the Accompts.

The Benefit we reaped by any footing in Britanny, may in a few Examples appear. (k) Henry the third confesseth that *ad defensionem Britannie non sufficiebant Angliae Thesauri, quod jam*

(a) Pat. an. 1  
E. 3.

(b) Ex Comput. Richardi Longley an. 36  
E. 3. in The-  
saur. Regis  
Westmon.  
in Rot. Aquita-  
nie.

(c) Rot. Parl.  
anno 7 R. 2.  
m. 24.

(d) Rot. Parl.  
anno 17 R. 2.

(e) Ex Comput.  
Walt. de  
Weston.

(f) Ex Comput.  
Tho. Swin-  
burn anno 10  
H. 4.

(g) Ex Comput.  
Joannis  
Tiptoft an. 1  
H. 5.

(h) Ex Comput.  
Will. Clif-  
ford & Robert  
Holme an. 5  
H. 5.

(i) Ex Rot.  
Par. an. 11  
H. 6.

Brittany.

(k) Ex Mat.  
Paris.

Brest.

(a) Rot. Parl.

anno 2 R. 2.

Ex Comput.

Tho. Parry

Cust. Castri de

Brest, a. 9 R. 2.

Callis.

(b) Ex Com-

put. Williel.

Horwell in

Thesaur. Regis.

(c) Ex Com-

put. Rich. rdi

Eccleshall de

an. 28, 29, &amp;

30 E. 3.

(d) Ex Rot.

Par. anno 2

R. 2.

(e) Ex Com-

put. Rob.

Thorley.

(f) Ex Com-

put. Simonis

de Burg.

(g) Ex Comp.

Reg. de Wald.

an. 13 R. 2.

&amp; 15.

(h) Ex Comp.

Joannis Ber-

nam, an. 23

R. 2.

(i) Ex Comput.

Ro. Thorley.

(k) Ex Comp.

Nich. usq.

*per triennium comprobavit*, that the Treasure of England would not suffice to maintain Britany, which he had found to be true upon three years tryal: and left in the end *tam laboriosis expensis amplius fatigari*, to tire himself farther with such toilsome expences.

The Town of Brest (a) cost Richard the second 12000 marks a year, and it stood him in an. 9. in 13118 l. 18 shill.

For Callis, I will deliver with as much shortness as may be, from the first acquisition until

the loss, in every age the Expence (for the most part either out of the Treasury or Customs of England,) disbursed. (b) From the

eighteenth of Edward the third, until the one and twentieth, in which space it was taken, the charge

amounted to 337400 l. 9 shill. 4 d. Anno 28. of the same King for little more than a year

17847 l. 5 shillings. In anno 29. 30581 l. 18 d. for two years compleat. (c) In the thirtieth re-

ceived by Richard de Eccleshal Treasurer of Callis from the Bishop of Winchester Treasurer of En-

gland, 17847 l. (d) And in the year following 26355 l. 15 shill. (e) In the second of Richard

the second *de receptis forinsecis*, which was money from the Exchequer at Westminster,

20000 l. for three years compleat. (f) Anno 5. 19783 l. For three years ending (g) anno 16.

77375 l. For the like term until an. 13. 48609 l. 8 shill. And (h) for the four succeeding years

90297 l. 19 shill. And for the last three years of his Reign, 85643 l.

From the end of (i) Richard the second until the fourth of Henry the fourth for three years (k)

62655 l. 17 shillings. And for one succeeding,

19783 l.

19783 l. The Charge in Victual and Provision

for two years five months in this Kings Reign (a) (a) Ex Comp. Rob. Thorley.

46519 l. 15. shillings.

In the first four and peaceable years of his Son there was issued from the Treasury of England

(b) 86938 l. 10 shill. for this place. And from (b) Ex Comp. Rob. Salvin, de an. 5 H. 5.

anno 8. until the 9. 65363 l. It cost Henry the sixth (c) above all Revenue 9054 l. 5 shill. in (c) Rot. Parl. an. 11 H. 6.

an. 11. The Subsidies in England were an. 27. (d) Rot. Parl. anno 27.

(d) levied in Parliament to defray the wages and reparation of Callis. And the (e) one and thirtieth of this King there was a Fifteen and 2 shill. of (e) Rot. Parl. anno 31.

every Sack of Wool imposed upon the Subjects here to the same end. (f) And the Parliament of (f) Rot. Parl. anno 33.

33. was assembled of purpose to order a course for discharge of wages and expence at Callis : and the like authority directed the fourth of Edward the fourth, (g) that the Souldiers there should receive (g) Rot. Parl. 4 E. 4.

Victuals, and salary from out of the Subsidies of England. The disbursement thereof one year

being 12771 l. (h) And in the sixteenth of the (h) Ex Comp. Majoris Stapule anno 1 R. 3.

same King for like term there was de Portu London, Hull, Sancti Botolphi, Poole, & Sandwico, by

the Ports of London, Hull, Boston, Pool, and Sandwiche, 12488 l. paid to the Treasury of Callis.

(i) And in an. 20. from out of the Customes of (i) Ex Comp. origin. inter Chartas Roberti Cotton.

the same Ports to the same end 12290 l. 18 shill.

(k) And in 22. 11102 l. And the year following 10788 l. The settled ordinary wages of the Garrison in this Town yearly was 24 Hen. 8. (l) (l) Ex Comp. Domini Lisle.

8834 l. And about the thirtieth, when the Viscount Lisle was Deputy, 8117 l. And from the thirtieth of this King to the end of his Son Edw. 6. this place did cost the Crown 371428 l. 18 shill. From (l) Ex lib. de expens. Bellor. H. 8. & E. 6. in Museo Com. Salisbur.

the first purchase of it by Edw. 3. until the loss thereof



(a) Ex littera  
Archiep. Cant.  
Card. Wolsey.

(b) Ex littera  
Thome Smith  
Secret. anno  
1567. 3 Maii.

thereof by *Queen Mary*, it was ever a perpetual issue of the *Treasure* of this Land, which might in continuance have rather grown to be a burthen of Danger to us, than any Fort of Security. For from the waste of money, which is *Nervus Reipublicae*, the Sinew of a Common-wealth, as *Ulpian* saith, we may conclude with *Tacitus*, *Dissolutionem Imperii docet, si fructus quibus Respub. sustinetur diminuantur*, it foreshews the ruine of an Empire, if that be impaired which should be the sustenance of the Common-wealth. And therefore it was not the worst opinion (at such time as the Captivity of *Francis* the French King incited (a) *Henry* the eighth to put off that Kingdom, although in the close *major pars vicit meliorem*, the greater party out-voted the better, ) that to gain any thing in *France* would be more chargeable than profitable, and the keeping more than the enjoying. The issue was in *Tour-nay*, *Bullen*, and this Town manifest. Besides the jealousy that Nation ever held over our designs and their own liberty. For as *Gracia libera esse non potuit dum Philippus Gracia Compedes tenuit*, Greece could never be free so long as *Philip* had the Fetters of Greece in his custody; so as long as by retention of *Callis* we had an easie descent into, and convenient place to trouble the Countrey, a Fetter to intangle them, they neither had assurance of their own quiet, nor we of their Amity. And it was not the least Argument from *Conveniency* in the detention of *Callis* (after the eight years expired of Redelivery) used by the *Chancellour* of France, (b) That we should gain much more in assured peace, which we could never have so long as we were

Lords

Lords of that Town, than by any benefit it did or could yield us. It was never but a Pique and Quarrel between the two Realms: For upon every light displeasure, either Princes would take by and by to *Callis*, and make war there. God hath made a separation natural betwixt both Nations, a sure wall and defence,

*Et penitus toto divisos Orbe Britannos;*

That is, the English were divided from all the world.

But a little more to inform the weight of these Charges, it is not amiss to touch (by way of comfort) that from which we are so happily by the infinite blessings of God and benignity of a Gracious King delivered; and also that other of burthen still, (though much lightened) until conformity of Affections and designs of Councils shall further effect a Remedy.

The Charge of *Barwick* and the *Frontiers* in (a) *Ex Comp. Joannis Tiptoft.*  
(a) 20 *Edward* 3. was 3129 l. for three years. (b) *Ex Comp. Hen. Percy,*  
In the end of *Richard* 2. and entrance of *Henry* 4. anno 1 H. 4.  
(b) 10153 l. And (c) 11 *Henry* 6. the Custody of the *Marches* 4766 l. In the 2 *Maria* (c) *Parl. an. 11 H. 6.*  
the annual Charge of *Barwick* was 9413 l. (d) *Ex mus. 20 Com. Salisbury.*  
(d) And in an. 2 *Elizabeth* 13430 l. And an. 26. (e) *Ex comp. Williel. de Brumleigh.*  
12391 l. (f) *Ex comp. Nicol. Episc. Meth, an. 30 Ed. 3.*

The Kingdom of *Ireland*, beyond the Revenues, (g) *Ex Comp. Tho. Scurley.*  
was 29 E. 3. (e) 2285 l. An. 30. (f) 2880 l. an. 50 E. 3.  
and (g) an. 50. 1808 l. All the time of *Richard* 2. (h) *Ex Comp. Joan. Spencer,*  
(h) it never defrayed the charges; And came short in 11 *Henry* 6. 4000 Marks (i) of annual issues. The Revenue there in omnibus exitibus (i) *Ex Rot. Par. an. 11 H. 6.*  
& proficuis, in all the rents and profits yearly,

## Answers to the reasons

(a) *Ex annot.*  
*Dom. Burleigh*  
*ex Museo Com.*  
*Salisbury.*  
 (b) *Ex Comp.*  
*Rad. Lane.*

(c) *Ex Comp.*  
*in Museo Com.*  
*Salisbury The-*  
*saur. Anglie.*

Addition of  
 any forraign  
 Title no Ho-  
 nour.

(d) *Baldus.*

by Account of Cromwel Lord Treasurer, not above 3042 l. But passing over these elder times: in the Reign of the late Queen, when the yearly Revenue was not 15000 l. the expence for two years (a) ending 1571. amounted to 116874 l. In an. 1584. for less than two years came it to 86983 l. (b) The charge there in two years of Sir John Parrots Government ending 1586. was 116368 l. In anno 1597. the Receipt not above 25000 l. the issue was 91072 l. And when in 35 Elizabeth the Rents and Profits of that Kingdom exceeded not 27118 l. the Disbursement in seven moneths were 171883 l. The Charge 1601. (c) for nine moneths 167987 l. And for the two years following accounted by the allayed money 670403 l. And in the first of the King, 84179 l. Whose Government although it hath blessed both us and that Kingdom with the benefit of Peace, yet hath it not delivered himself from a large and yearly expence here for supportation of that State out of his own Treasure. And thus far in answer of the Argument from increase of Revenue by forraign Dominions.

As to the Arguments of Honour by addition of Titles and forraign Territories, it may suffice in answer, That so long as this Crown was actually possessed of any such Signiory, the Tenure and Service did ever bring with it a note and badge of Vassalage, than which nothing to so free a Monarch as the King of England (who is (d) *Monarcha in Regno, & tot & tanta habet Privilegia quot Imperator in Imperio*, a Monarch



narch in his Kingdom, and hath as many and as large Priviledges therein as an Emperour in his Empire,) could be more in blemish or opposition. To write *Domino Regi nostro Francie*, To our Lord the King of France, as during the time we held the Provinces in France, we usually did in all our Letters and publick Contracts with that Crown, can be called no addition of Honour. And whether upon every command to act in person those base services of *Homage* and *Fidelity*, as first in putting off the *Imperial Crown*, the kneeling low at the foot of that King, and taking an Oath to become *Homme liege du Roys de France*, a liege subject to the Kings of France, &c. we in performing so the duties of a subject, do not much more disparage the dignity of a Sovereign, is no question of doubt. From these considerations of Reputation and Honour, (the greatest stayes that support Majesty, and retain Obedience) our Kings of England have as far as to the forfeit of those Signiories, either avoided or refused the services. As King John did *Normandy*; and Edward the second resigned to his Son the *Duchy of Aquitain*, to put off the act of homage from himself, to whom it could not in respect of his Regality but be a dishonour. As appeareth in Henry the second, who having made his Son (*consortem Imperii*, a King of England with him, *Homagium à Filio noluit* (saith the Record) *quia Rex fuit, sed securitatem accepit*; would not receive Homage of him, because he was a King, but took his Security. In the seventeenth of Richard the second, the Lords and Justices would not consent to a Peace with France, unless the King

Stile of Normandy and Aquitain, accounted by our Kings a Vassalage.

King might not do *Homage*, they held it so base, supposing thereby the liberty of the Kings Person and Subject wronged. And thus much of the little Reputation that either in Title or Territory those subordinate *Duchies* in *France* added to this Crown.

State of  
*France* re-  
strained by  
petition in  
Parliament.

As for the Kingdom of *France*, the people of *England* were so little in love with that Title, as any Honour to them, that by Acts of Parliament 14 Ed. 3. and 8 Ed. 5. they provided that the Subjects of *England* should owe no Obedience to the King as King of *France*, nor the Kingdom of *England* be in any wise subjected by such Union to that Crown.

*France* pos-  
sessed would  
leave us to  
the misery of  
a Province.

And so much we have ever been in fear of that place, lest it might leave this State to the misery of a Provincial Government: as in 17 H. 6. the Commons urged to contribute for the recovery of that Crown, answered, that the gaining of any footing in *France* would induce the Kings abroad there, and by such absence cause great decay and desolation in this State; besides the transport of our money in the mean time, which would enrich that Countrey, and impoverish the Realm at home, whereby we should justly again say, (a) *Britannia servitutum suam quotidie emit, quotidie poscit*, The Britains are every day begging to be slaves, every day giving money for it.

(a) Tacit. in  
vita Agricola.

To enterprise  
any war, not  
so easie.

The last motive is, the advantage we now have of greater Facility and assurance of Success in any foreign enterprise, by this happy Union of both Kingdoms, than ever any of our Ancestors had.

Means of suc-  
cess formerly.

To which in answer nothing can be more full, than laying down the motives and means that led on the Kings of this Realm to attempt and prosperously effect their undertakings in other parts, weigh how they suit these times, and whether that any or all the advantages we now have, may be to them of equal worth and valuation. The first consideration is in *Place*, the next in *Person*. In the wars of *France* (whether those for the defence of particular *Signiories*, or competition of the intire Kingdom) we had ever Ports to land at, and Forts to retire to, which now we have not. The coast of *Normandy* was our own, by which we might enter the midst of *France*. And *Edward* the third when he intended to annoy the East part, sided with *Monisfort* against *Charles de Bloys*, whom he invested with the *Duchy of Britain*, that so he might have there an easie footing. Thus by leave of his Confederates in *Flanders* he had safe entrance for all his Army to invade the other side, and a sure retreat, when upon any occasion he would come back, as he did to *Antwerp*. And wheresoever any Army may have a quiet descent, the greatest difficulty is overcome; for the rest consisteth in *Chance*, wherein Fortune is rather wont to prevail than *Vertue*. But (a) *ibi grave est Bellum gerere, ubi nullus est Classi* (a) *Portus apertus, non ager pacatus, non Civitas socia, non consistendi aut procedendi locus, quocunq; circumspexeris hostilia sunt omnia*; There 'tis a hard task to wage war, where there is no Port open for our Navy, the Countrey our enemy, no City our Confederate, no place to make a stand or to march out from, but whithersoever a man looks, he can see nothing but hostile intentions against us. And this must be now our case, which was never our Ancestors.

Advantage of  
Place and  
Party.  
Advantage of  
Place.(a) *Liv. lib. 28.*

Ad-



A Party

found

made

Advantage personal was either

(a) *Matth.*  
*Paris in*  
*vita H. 3.*

(b) *Matth.*  
*Par. vita*  
*H. n 3.*

(c) *Froi-*  
*sard.*

(d) *Wal-*  
*singham.*  
*T. Livius*  
*Forolivi-*  
*ensis in vi-*  
*ta H. 5.*

Confede-  
rates were  
the only  
ground of  
all the  
good suc-  
cess.

Confede-  
rates.

**T**He Confederates our Kings held formerly for mutual Aid were of such consequence in all their af-  
fairs,

For the Persons considerable, the  
the Subjects to our enemies, or our  
own Confederates. Of the first, our  
Kings heretofore did either work  
on the opportunity of any dissention  
ministred, or by Pension and Reward  
either make a fraction in Obedience,  
or Neutrality in Assistance with the  
Subjects of their Adversary. The  
Dukes of Burgundy, Earls of Britain,  
Dreux and others in France, offend-  
ed with their Sovereign, (a) *Confe-*  
*derati erant Comiti Britannia Hen-*  
*rico & Regi Anglia*, became Confe-  
derates with Henry Earl of Britain  
and King of England; and thereupon  
drew him over into Britain. (b) The  
same King by yearly Pensions of  
7000 l. kept divers in Poitton in  
fraction against their Lord and their  
own Loyalty. Edw. 3. had never  
undertaken the conquest of France, if  
(c) Robert de Artoys (displeased  
with the Sentence of Philip his Ma-  
ster for that Earldom) had not incited  
and plotted for him, as Godfrey  
of Harecourt did after. Nor Henry  
(d) 5. if the unsound memory of  
the French King, the jealousie of those  
Princes and Orleantial Faction had  
not made his way and Fortune.

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sairs, that those so best strengthened achieved ever the greatest and most glorious victories. As the first and third *Edwards*, the fifth and eighth *Henries*. Whereas *Henry* the sixth, that was of all the rest left most naked to himself, although the greatest otherwise in opportunity, lost all the purchase of his Ancestors in the end. It is not amiss in such a foundation of Greatness as Confederacy, to lay down successively, first, with whom we tyed that knot of love; then, what were the motives, or assurances; and lastly, whether the same in both is left to our occasions, and will now or no.

*Henry* the first, but to assure his own possessions beyond Sea, (a) *adscivit in presidium Comitum Britannia, & Theobaldum Comitem Blesensem*, called to his aid the Earl of Britain, and Theobald Earl of Bloys.

*Henry* the second did the like with (b) *Robert* Earl of Flanders. And again (c) *cum Theodorico Comite Flandrie, Baronibus, Castellanis, & ceteris hominibus Comitum*, with *Theodoric* Earl of Flanders, the Barons, Governours of Castles, and other the Subjects of the said Earl; who stood bound to serve him in *summonitione sua*, *sicut Domino, pro feodis que de ipso teneant*, upon a summons, as well as their own Lord, for the Fees which they held of him.

*Baldwin* Earl of Flanders contracteth under Bond (d) *mutui subsidii, quod sine Rege Richardo Anglie non componeret cum Rege Francorum*, of mutual aid, that he would not come to agreement with the French King without *Richard* King of England. And the (e) *Bri-*

A list of all the Confederates from *Hen.* the firsts Reign to the end of the last Queen. *Henry* 2.

(a) *Ex Contract. orig. in Arch. Thes. west.*

(b) *Ex Radulph. de Diceto.*

(c) *Ex orig. signat. à Comite & Castellanis, in Thes. west.*

*Richard* 2.

(d) *Ex Radulph. de Diceto.*

(e) *Matth. Paris* 124.

tains

*raints relicto Rege Francie Regi Richardo adhaerunt*, forsaking the King of France, did joyn with King Richard.

King John.

(a) *Indorso*

*Cl. an. 1 fo-  
annis.*

(b) *Ex orig. in  
Thes. westm.*

Henry 3.

(c) *Dors. pat.*

*11 H. 3. m. 11.*

(d) *Rot. lib. an.*

*24 H. 3. m. 7.*

*ex originali.*

Between King John (a) and the Earl of Flanders there was a Combination *mutui auxilii contra Regem Francorum*, of mutual assistance against the French King. (b) The like with the City of Doway and Earl of Holland.

*Hen. 3. anno 11.* drew (c) Peter Duke of Britany into Confederacy against the French; and Fernand Earl of Flanders with a Pension annual of five hundred Marks. (d) And *anno 38.* *Alfonsus* King of Castile combineth with him and his heirs *contra omnes homines in mundo*, against all the men in the World. To whom he remained so constant, that *an. 8. and 10 Edw. 1.* he would not grant a Truce to the French King, but *ad preces & instantiam* at the instant suit of the King of England.

Edward 1.

(e) *Clau. an.*

*13 Edw. 1.*

(f) *Ex origin.  
in Thes. tur.*

(g) *Rot. Vas-*

*con. an. 20.*

*m. 19.*

(h) *Rot. Al-*

*man. d. an. 22.*

*& 31. m. 13.*

(i) *Ex origin.*

*sub sigillo in*

*Thes. westm.*

(k) *Rot. Al-*

*man. an. 31.*

*m. 14.*

(l) *Dors. Rot.*

*Alman. 18.*

Edward 1. *an. 13.* (e) by a pretence of inter-marriage drew Florence Earl of Holland from the French to his party; (f) and the year following, by the mediation of the Lord of Black-mont, the Earl of Flanders, who in (g) *an. 20.* assisted him in the wars of Gascoign. (h) In the 22. he combined with Adolph King of the Romans, and the Earl of Gueldres; tying the Nobility of Burgundy with a yearly donative of 30000 *l.* *Turonensium* to aid him *contra Regem Francie*, against the French King. (i) He had Guido Earl of Flanders and Philip his son for 100000 *l.* *Turonensium* in pay against the French King, *an. 24, 25, and 31.* of his Reign; (k) retaining the Earl of Gueldres by pay of 100000 *l.* the Duke of Lorrain by 160000 *l.* (l) the Nobility



Nobility of Burgundy by a Pension of 30000 l. and Wallerand Lord of Montay by 300 l. Turenensium in his service the same year. (a) And in anno 34. Reginaldum Comitem Montis Belliard & alios de Burgundia contra Regem Francia, Reginald Earl of Mont-Belliard and other Burgundians against the King of France.

(a) Rot. Pat.  
an. 34. m. 24.

Edward the second had (b) *auxilium tam maritimum quam terrestre à Genoesibus*, assistance as well by Sea as by Land from the Genoeses. (c) And in anno 18. besides his Alliance with Flanders, John Protector of Castile aideth him contra Gallos cum 1000. equitibus & peditibus, & Scutiferis 10000. against the French with 1000. horse and foot, and 10000. other armed men.

Edward 2.  
(b) Rot. Vasc.  
an. 9. & 11.  
(c) Dors.  
claus. an. 12.  
m. 7.

Edward the third (d) had by the Marriage of Philip, the Earl of Henault and Holland her Father assured to him; and retained John of Henault and his Followers, (e) *qui venerunt in auxilium ad rogatum Regis*, who came to assist the King at his call, with a Salary of 14000 l. yearly. Before he adventured to avow and maintain his Challenge to the Kingdom of France, (f) he made up to his party Lodowick the Emperour, (who the better to countenance his enterprise, elected him *Vicarium Imperii*, Vicar of the Empire.) (g) Reginald Earl of Gueldres, Lewis Marques of Brandenburg, Conrade Lord of Hard, who served him with fifty men at Arms, the Cardinal of Genoa and his Nephew, who aided him with Gallies, the Magistrates of Colen, Bruxells, Lorrain and Mechlin, and (h) Jaques de Artevile head of the Gantois Faction; who having

Edward 3.  
(d) Froissard.  
(e) Rot. Liban.  
2. m. 6.

(f) Rot. Alman.  
anno 11.

(g) Rot. Art.  
mer. anno 12.

(h) Froissard.

quitted

(a) *Ex Rot.*  
*Antwerp. an.*  
12.

(b) *Rot. Parl.*  
*anno 14. n. 8.*

(c) *Claus. an.*  
18. m. 25.

(d) *Dors. claus.*  
*an. 18. m. 20.*

(e) *Dors. Claus.*  
*an. 19. m. 14.*

(f) *Froisard.*

(g) *Rot. Pat.*  
*an. 24. n. 8.*

(h) *Ex origi-*  
*nali de an. 7.*  
*in lib. Rob. Cor.*

(i) *Ex orig. in*  
*Thes. west. de*  
*an. 37. & 41.*

quitted all duty to the banished *Earl*, submitted themselves and most of *Flanders* to the service and protection of *Edward* the third, who to free them of two Millions of Crowns, wherein, as a Caution of obedience to the Crown of *France*, (a) they stood bound as well by Oath as Obligation, took upon him the Title of King of *France*, and imployed *John* Duke of *Brabant* and *Lorraine*, *William* Marquess of *Juliers*, and the *Earl* of *Henault* and *Holland*, his assured Friends, *Procuratores suos ad vendicandum Regnum Francie*, his *Procurators* to claim the Crown of *France*. (b) These his Allies not long after meeting him at *Tournay* with one hundred thousand men, as *Robert de Artoys* did with fifty thousand at *S. Omers* against the *French* King. And thus he armed and furnished his first enterprise, weaving into his Faction and support more and more, as often as either pretence or just occasions would give him leave. By (c) colour of Marriage he drew in the King of *Sicily* in the eighteenth year, the Duke of *Millain*, and the King of *Castile* for mutual aid; and (d) *Simon Butangre* Duke of *Genoa*, and his Subjects for hire and reward. In the nineteenth year (e) the questionable Title of the *Duchy* of *Britain* assured him of *John de Montford*; against whom the (f) *French* King maintained *Charles de Bloys* for that *Duchy*. In anno 24. (g) he renewed the Contract with the *Genoeses*; and in the thirtieth made a convention of Peace, & *mutui auxilii cum Rege Navarre*, and of mutual aid, with the King of *Navarre*. In (h) the thirty seventh with *Peter* King of *Castile*; and in that and the one and fortieth (i) an alliance of Aid and Amity he entered with the Duke

Duke of Britain: and anno 45. (a) again with the Genoeses and Lewis Earl of Flanders and Duke of Brabant; (b) and an. 46. with Ferdinand King of Portugal.

Richard the second reneweth (c) in anno 1. the confederation that his Grandfather had with the Duke of Britain; and with whom anno 3. he contracted anew, as he had done anno 2. with Lewis (d) Earl of Flanders. In the sixth (e) year he combineth with the Flemings (f) contra inimicos communes, against the enemies of them both; with (g) the Kings of Naples, Sicily, Navarre and Arragon, de mutuis auxiliis, for mutual aid; (h) and with Winceslaus the Emperour Contra Carolum Regem Francie & Robertum Regem Scotie, against Charles King of France, and Robert King of Scotland. In anno 8. (i) with the Kings of Jerusalem, Sicily, and Portugal. In the tenth with Portugal, who at his own charges aided this King with ten Galleys. And with William Duke of Gueldres de mutuis auxiliis, for mutual aid. And anno 12. (k) 18. and 19. with Albert Duke of Bavaria. (l) And an. 20. with the Earl of Ostrenant de retinentiis contra Regem Francie; against the King of France. And Rupertus Comes Palatine of the Rhene anno 20. became a Homager for term of life to this King.

Henry the fourth entered alliance (m) of mutual aid in two years with William Duke of Gueldres and Mons. (n) In the twelfth with Sigismund King of Hungaria. (o) And in the thirteenth by siding with the Factions of the Dukes of Berry and Orleans, laid the basis upon which his Son that succeeded reared the Trophies of his Renown.

(a) Ex orig. sub sigillo.  
(b) Ex Contr. orig. in Archiv. Thes.

(c) vestm.

(e) Claus. an. 1 R. 2.

Richard 2.

(d) Rot. Franc. anno 2.

(e) Ex orig. in Thes.

(f) Rot. Parl. anno 6. n. 11.

(g) Ex Contr. in lib. Italica Rob. Cotton.

(h) Rot. Franc. an. 6. m. 28.

(i) Rot. Franc. an. 12. m. 16. & an. 18. & 19.

(k) Rot. Franc. an. 12. m. 16. & an. 18. & 19.

(l) Rot. Franc. an. 20. m. 2.

(m) Rot. claus. an. 2 H. 4. & Rot. Franc. an. 2 & 3 H. 4. m. 6.

Henry 4.

(n) Rot. Franc. an. 12 H. 4. m. 21.

Henry 5.

(o) Tho. Walsingham.



(a) *Ex Rot.*  
*Parl. an. 4.*

(b) *Ex Orig. in*  
*Thes. Westm.*

(c) *Ex Chron.*  
*Rogeri Wall. in*  
*vita H. 5. an. 5.*  
*6. 8.*

(d) *Ex Instrum. orig.* 31  
*Aug. 5 H. 5.*

Henry 6.

(e) *Ex Contr.*  
*tract. origin.*

(f) *Ex Tractat.*  
*Alrabatensi.*

(g) *Ex Tract.*  
*Brugensi. 1442.*

(h) *Ex Tract.*  
*Callisi. 1445.*

*Ex Tractat.*  
*Bruxellensi*  
*1446.*

For Henry the fifth going forward upon the Advantage left and daily offered, strengthened himself anno 4. (a) by a League perpetual with Sigismund the Emperour; renewing that of Richard the second (b) with John King of Portugal, as his Father had done. He entered a contract with the Duke of Britain, and with the Queen of Jerusalem and Lewis her Son for the Duchy of Anjou and Mayn; and with the King of Portugal and Duke of Bavaria for supply of Men and Munition by them performed. (c) And the year before the Battel of Agincourt sendeth the Lord Henry Scrope to contract with the Duke of Burgundy (d) and his Retinue for Wages in service suo in Regno Francia vel Ducatu Aquitania, in his service in the Kingdom of France, or the Duchy of Aquitain; esteeming the alliance of that house the readiest means to attain his end.

Henry the sixth (i) so long as he held the Amity of Britain (for which he contracted) and the confederacy of Burgundy, his friend of eldest assurance and best advantage, which he did to the sixteenth year of his Government, there was no great decline of his Fortune in France. But when Burgundy (f) brake the bond of our assurance, and betook him to the Amity of France, and dealt with this Crown, but as a Merchant by way of intercourse, first at the Treaty of (g) Bruges 1442. then at (h) Callis 1446. the reputation and interest we held in France declined faster in the setting of this Son, than ever it increased in the rising of the Father.

And Edward the fourth who succeeded, sensible of this loss, wooed by all the means either of Intercourse or Marriage to win again the house

house of *Burgundy* (a) which in anno 7. he did, (a) *Parl. an. 7*  
 to joyn for the recovery of his right in *France*. *E. 4. n. 28.*  
 (b) And drew in the year following the Duke (b) *Rot. Franc.*  
 of *Britain* to that Confederacy. In the (c) ele- *an. 8. m. 22. &*  
 venth year he renewed with *Charles* of *Burgundy* *ex contr. f.*  
 the bond of mutual Aid; and contracted the *originali.*  
 next (d) year the like with the King of *Portugal*. (c) *Rot. Franc.*  
 And in an. 14. *pro recuperatione Regni Francie* *an. 11 E. 4. m. 7*  
*contra Ludovicum Usurpantem*, for the recove- (d) *Rot. Franc.*  
 ry of the Kingdom of *France* out of the hands of *an. 12. m. 22.*  
*Lewis* the Usurper, (e) as the Record is) entred a *& ex orig. in*  
 new Confederacy with the Dukes of *Burgundy* *Thes. westm.*  
 and *Britain*: (f) And in the end wrought from (e) *Rot. Fran.*  
 them a round Pension of money, though he *an. 14. m. 18.*  
 could not any portion of land. *& 19.*

*Henry* the seventh (g) anno 5. & 6. entertain- (f) *Ex Contr.*  
 eth an Alliance with *Spain* against the *French* *de an. 1487. pro*  
 King. The like in the eighth with the King of *solutione*  
*Portugal*: and in the tenth (h) with the house *50000 scuto-*  
 of *Burgundy* for Intercourse and mutual Aid. *rum ad 100.*  
*annos.*

*Henry* the eighth in anno 4. (i) reneweth the *Henry 7.*  
 Amity of *Portugal*; and the next year combineth (g) *Rot. Fran.*  
 with the Emperour *Maximilian* against *Lewis* *an. 5. & 6 H. 7.*  
 the *French* King, who aideth him out of *Artoys* *& Contr. orig.*  
 and *Henault* with four thousand horse and six *an. 8 H. 7.*  
 thousand foot; whereupon he winneth *Tournay*, *Henry 8.*  
 (k) *Consilio, Auxilio, & favoribus Maximili-* (h) *Ex magno*  
*ani Imperatoris*, with the advice, assistance, and *intercusu de an.*  
 countenance of the Emperour *Maximilian*. In *1495.*  
 anno 7. (l) to weaken the *French* King, he en- (i) *Ex tract.*  
 treth league with the *Helvetian Cantons* by his *origin. de dat.*  
 Commissioners *Wingfield* and *Pace*; and with *1513.*  
 (m) *Charles* of *Spain* for Amity and mutual Aid: in- (k) *Ex litera*  
 to which *Maximilian* the Emperour and *Joan* of *Max. Imp. Car.*  
*Spain* (n) were received the year following. *Ebor. dat. 151.*  
 (l) *Rot. Fran.*  
*an. 7 H. 8.*  
 (m) *Ex tract.*  
*Bruxellens.*  
*1515.*  
 (n) *Ex orig.*  
*subscript. card.*  
*Sedunensi de*  
*dat. 1516.*

(a) Ex tract.  
Callis. an. 1521

(b) Ex tract.  
orig. subscript.  
manu Card.

Ebor. & Marg.  
Regent. 24.  
August. 1521.

(c) Ex tract.  
Windsor. 1522.

(d) Ex tract.  
Cambrensis.  
1529.

(e) Ex tract.  
Altrajectensis.

(f) Ex tract.  
de anno 1543.  
Ex originali  
dat. ultimo  
Janu. 1547.

(g) Ex in-  
script. Rich.  
Morison.  
Edward 6.

(h) Ex litera  
Ducis Somers.  
Magist. pag.  
1549.

(i) Ex contr.  
Matrimoniali  
1554.

(a) In an. 12. with the Emperour Charles and (b) Margaret Regentess of Burgundy he maketh a Confederation against Francis the French King, as the common enemy: & quia Rex Anglia non possit ex propriis Subditis tantum equitum numerum congerere, the King of England could not furnish such a quantity of Horse of his own Subjects, as was mentioned in the contract, the Emperour giveth leave that he levy them in any his Dominions in Germany. And the Pope in furtherance of his intendment, interdicteth the French Territories, calleth in aid Brachii Secularis, of the Secular power, (c) those two Princes; appointeth the Emperour Protectorem & advocatum Ecclesie, the Churches Advocate and Protector, and stileth their Attempt sancta expeditio, an holy expedition. (d) And this is by the Treaty at Windsor the next year confirmed and explained. Renewing in the years (e) twenty one, thirty five and thirty eight the association, and bond of mutual aid with the same Princes, and against the French King, if he brake not off his Amity with the Turk.

And although (f) Edward the sixth in the first year of his Reign made the Contract between the Crown of England and the house of Burgundy perpetual; yet (g) forbore he to aid the Emperour in the wars of France, disabled (as he pretended) by reason of the Poverty the troubles of Scotland had drawn upon him; (h) And therefore offered the Town of Bullen to the Imperial Protection.

During the Reign of Queen Mary, there was no other but than (i) of Marriage, Aid and Entercourse with the Emperour, Spain and Burgundy;



*gundy*; (a) and besides that tripartite bond at (a) *Extract. Matr. 1555.*

*Cambray* of Amity and Neutrality. Our late Renowned Mistris entertained with Queen Mary. the Prince of Conde (b) about *New-haven*, (b) *Ex artic. subscript. à Vidame de Chartres 1562* and (c) with Charles the ninth 1564. and at Elizabeth. (d) *Blois 1572.* with the King of Navarre before the accession of the Crown of France to him, and after Britain, and lastly by the Duke of Bullen (e) in ninety six. And with the States of the Netherlands in the years eighty five (f) and ninety eight, divers Treaties of Amity, Confederation and Assistance. (c) *Ex fader Trecenti. 1564.* (d) *Ex tract. Placensis 1562* (e) *Extract. Londini. 1596.* (f) *Extract. cum ordin. Belgie de an. 1585. & 1598*

By all these passages, ( being all that well either our Story or Records can discover ) it appeareth manifest the Kings of England never to have undertaken, or fortunately entertained any Forreign Enterpize without a party and confederate. Amongst which by situation, those of best advantage to us have been the Dukes of Britain, Lords of the Netherlands, the City of Genoa, the Kings of Portugal and Spain, and the Empire, since knit into the house of Burgundy. Confederates of most benefit to England.

As for the remote and in-land Princes of Germany, the Kings of Denmark, Poland and Sweden, ( so far removed ) I have seldome observed that this Crown hath with them contracted any League of Assistance or Confederacy, but of Amity and Entercourse only.

Princes whose  
Confederati-  
on are of  
least benefit.  
Bonds of  
Confederati-  
on cannot be  
the same they  
were before.  
As with the  
State of Genoa.

(a) Liv. Dec.  
4. l. 2.

(b) In Relati-  
on: de Statu  
Gepae, an.  
1595.

Navarre.  
Britain.

IT remaineth to observe a little, what were the reasons that first induced, and then preserved the Affection and Alliances of these several Nations respectively to this Crown. The assurance we had of the State of *Genoa* was their Pensions and Traffick here. All which time by equality of Neighbourhood they stood of themselves without any jealousy of Surprise. But as soon as *Vicinum Incendium*, the fire began in *Millain*, they put themselves into the protection of *Spain*, foreseeing how dangerous it would be for a weak State to stand *Neutral*, according to *Aristhenus* counsel to the *Aetolians*, (a) *Quid aliud quam nusquam gratia stabili prada victoris erimus?* What else will become of us, being in firm friendship with neither side, than to be made a prey to the Conquerour? Since which time *Spain* by estating *Doria*, *Grimaldi*, and the *Spinellos*, chief Families of that City, with great Patrimonies in *Naples*, retaining their Gallies in his perpetual service and salary, the Inhabitants of all sorts in beneficial Trade, and (no less in Policy to ingage that City, than to supply his own Wants) continually owing the wealthiest Citizens such vast summs of money, as the Interest of late exceeded (b) twenty five Millions; he hath tyed it more sure to the *Spanish* party, than if it were commanded by a *Cittadel*; so that it must ever now follow the faction and fortune of that Crown.

*Navarre* and *Britain* (while States of themselves) were so long firm to our Confederacy, as they were tyed with the bond of their own Calamity,

Calamity, occasioned by that power, which incorporating lately the one by Descent, the other by Contract, is by that Union and return of all the *Appennagii*, more potent than ever it hath been under the House of *Capet*.

*Burgundy* was so long our friend, as either *Burgundy*. they were enriched by Staple of our Commodities, or had protection of our Swords against *France*, who not only claimed Sovereignty over most, but a proprietary interest in part, and therefore had reason to give Aid and Arms to such a Confederate as did by a diversive War secure, and by particular Immunities enrich that State. But now growing into *Spain*, they need no such assurance in the one; and we almost undone by their draping of our Wooll, (which is happily called home,) not able to return them the benefit of the other, cannot presume upon any such assurance of their aid as heretofore.

*Spain* may seem to give us the best hope of a *Spain*. fast Confederate for two respects. *First*, for that he is absolute, and that we be equally devoid of demand, neither having against the other any Titles. *Next*, for that the intercourse of Trade is more reciprocal between us than *France*, and our Amity founded upon long love and old blood. To this may be made a two-fold answer, from the change of their Dispositions: *First*, for that they never assist any now, but to make themselves Master of their State. Thus ended they the strife between the Competitors of *Portugal*. And when they were called into *Naples* by the *Queen* against the *French*, they combined with her Adversary, and divided the Kingdom,



Kingdoms. And after upon the River of Gar-  
 rillon, under their Leader Gonsalves, taking an  
 advantage, they defeated the whole Army of  
 the French, holding ever since that entire King-  
 dom themselves. For Spain will admit neither  
 Equality nor Fellowship, since upon Union of  
 so many Kingdoms, and famous Discoveries,  
 they began to affect a fifth Monarchy. The  
 other; that the late hostility between them and  
 us hath drawn so much blood, as all forms of  
 ancient Amity are quite wastit away: and as  
 (a) Paterculus. Paterculus (a) saith of Carthage to Rome, so  
 may we of Spain to England, *Ad odium Cer-*  
*taiminibus armis altera merita durat, ut ne in*  
*victis quidem deponitur, neque ante inuisum esse*  
*desinet quam esse desit.* The hatred begot by  
 former quarrels doth endure so lastingly, that  
 the very conquered party cannot forget it: and  
 in such a case the very places must cease to be,  
 before the hatred and envy towards it can  
 cease.

Dangers in  
 Confederacy  
 by diversity  
 of Ends.  
 Examples,  
 that ends  
 served, Con-  
 federates quit  
 all bonds of  
 Combina-  
 tion.

(a) Matth.  
 Paris 1242.

Besides these local considerations, there will  
 be two other Dangers now fall out from any  
 Contract of mutual aid: The one from diversity  
 of Intention, and the other of Religion. In the  
 one, when either the Confederate hath safely at-  
 tained his own secret End, (whatsoever he pretend-  
 eth in the entrance,) he leaveth the other to  
 work out his own designs. Thus was Henry the  
 third served, called over by the Earls of Tho-  
 lonse and March, they in the mean time having  
 made their Peace with France. (a) *Et expertum*  
*jam infidens, limo perfidiam Picavensium, im-*  
*piter recessit, & festinans non pepercit Cale-*  
*ribus,*

ipsis, insomuch that having found the treachery  
 and perfidiousness of the *Portugueses*, he was forced  
 dishonourably to retreat, and for haste to spurr  
 away; the peril the poor King was left in being so  
 great. He was handled like to this by Pope *Alex-*  
*ander* the fourth, who having drawn him into the  
 wars of *Apulia* against *Manfred*, in the end,  
*depauperato Regno Anglie, & undique bonis suis*  
*spoliato*, his Kingdom of *England* being impover-  
 ished, and wholly despoiled of its Goods, left  
 him to his own shift. The King of *Navarr* call-  
 ing in the aide of *Edward* the third (a) against  
*France*, and appointing the Isle of *Gersey* the  
*Rendezvous* of their forces, revolteth to the  
*French*, after he had by countenance of that pre-  
 paration wrought his Peace. *Maximilian* the  
*Emperour* to induce *Henry* the eighth not only  
 contracteth to aide him in person to recover the  
 Crown of *France*, & *pro tyrannico Rege repel-*  
*lendo*, and to remove the tyrannical King, (they  
 are the words of the League,) but conferreth upon  
 him in the same *Coronam Imperialem & Impe-*  
*rium Romanum*, the Imperial Crown and the  
 Roman Empire in reversion; and estateth the  
 Duchy of *Millain* after recovery upon his  
 person, & *suorum naturalium masculini sexus*  
*heredum, modo feodorum Imperialium*, and his  
 heirs male lawfully begotten, to hold in Fee of  
 the Empire: yet in the close left the King to his  
 own fortune, his turn for *Millain* and *Verona*  
 served. *Charles* the fifth when by the incurfi-  
 on of the *French* he saw his portion in *Italy* di-  
 stressed, in safety whereof consisted the whole  
*Pulse* of the *Spanish*, (as he used himself to  
 say,) for it supplied his Army with great Le-  
 vies,

(a) Rot. Parl,  
 anno 29 E. 3.  
 n. 6.

Suspecting  
that an Allie  
may grow too  
great, dissol-  
veth alliance.

*Liv. lib. 34.*

vies, and was filly seated for a fifth *Monarchy*; he then ingaged *Henry* the eighth in the wars of *France*, and bound himself (as *Bourbon* his Confederate) that he would assist him to the full Conquest of that Kingdom, and the other should become *Homager* to *Henry* the eighth as to his Sovereign. But after that *Bourbon* had advanced his Army and distressed the *French* King, he in his answer to *Master Pace* the Kings Ambassadour refused that assurance of duty, and gave a just suspicion, that he by help of his Parry intended to usurp upon that State himself, which the *Emperour* never meant to the King of *England*; left by such footing in *France*, he might grow so great as to give Law to his neighbours. And to fall off upon such grounds hath ever been excusable, howsoever the bonds of Alliance were. Thus did *Henry* the eighth as often change his hand of help, as either Princes of *Spain* and *France* got ground of the other. And the *Spaniard* now, to keep the States in *Italy* disunited, compoundeth differences at his pleasure, or taketh part with the weaker, not suffering any, though his own dependant, to grow too strong: which was lately seen in patronizing the *D. of Mantua* against *Savoy*, according to the Rule of *Quintim* in *Livy*, *Non tantum interest Aetolorum opes minui*, it doth not stand us so much in hand to break the strength of the *Aetolians*, (yet they were enemies,) *quantum, non supra modum Philippum crescere*, as it doth to see that *Philip* grow not too potent, who was their friend.

The difference in *Religion* may bring likewise a twofold danger. The one with our Confederates, the other with the Subjects of this Crown.

For



For whensoever we shall attempt upon a Catholick Prince, as France, where we have the fairest pretences, for with any other we are like to have no question; then is all Contract of mutual aide left to the election of our

Confederate, who may with all easiness procure from the See of Rome a discharge of all Contracts, although they were by Oath. For if in Leagues where either party have been Catholicks, as that between Edward 3. and John King of France, and that between John of Gaunt and the King of Castile; they ever out of such suspect inserted this Clause, That neither side should procure dispensationem, &c. either per Ecclesiam Romanam, vel per aliquam aliquam, a Dispensation either by the Church of Rome, or any other way, to do contra formam Tractatus, contrary to the form of Agreement: How much more must their jealousie be to us? And therefore in a Consultation in Henry the eighths time, (a) whether with best security we should Confederate with France or Spain, it was resolved that either of them may slip of their advantage by colour of our Separation from the

may break by dispensation, though both Catholicks.

Confederates, who

Danger by difference in Religion, in respect of the

(a) Ex original. in manu Domini Cromwell.

Doctrine of  
the See of  
Rome touch-  
ing leagues  
with Here-  
ticks.

(a) Ex Bulla  
origin. sub  
sigillo urbane  
6. an. pont. 4.

Danger by difference in Religion, in respect of the

Confederates, who

ought to  
break  
out of the  
Roman  
doctrine,  
one ac-  
counted  
heretick.

the Church of Rome, if there be no better hold in their Honesties than in their Bonds. For it will be held not only worthy dispensation, but merit to break all Leagues with the enemies of that Church, by the Doctrine of that See; which teacheth all Contracts with any Catholick Prince to be *instanti* dissolved, because we are by them ranked in the list of *Hereticks*; which holds proportion with the Rule and Direction that Urban the sixth sent by (a) Bull to Wenceslaus King of Bohemia, and Charles the Emperour, (before the Council of Constance,) declaring all Confederations, Leagues and Conventions to be *Leges Divinae remaneant, illicitae, & ipso jure nulla, etiamsi forent sive data firmata, aut Confirmatione Apostolica roborata*, to be by the Law of God invalid, void, and in Law null, although confirmed by the plighting of faith, nay though strengthened by confirmation Apostolical, if the parties were *separati ab Unitate sanctae Ecclesiae*, separate from the Unity of Holy Church, when

Danger by difference in Religion, in respect of the

Confederates, who

ought to break out of the Roman doctrine, one accounted heretick.

when the league was made ; or, *si postea sint effecti*, if they become so after. What assurance can there then be either with *France*, who is received, by his *Rebenediction*, into the Bosome of the *Church*, and his son made *Adoptivum Filius Ecclesie*, an adopted Son of the Church ; or against him with *Spain*, who being *Protector* and *Champion* of that See *Apostolick*, submitteth himself (as he hath ever done) to the Popes pleasure and design, and must not only forsake, but aide against us in any war we should there undertake ?

Besides it is considerable, howsoever all sides of our own will joyn in point of defence to a mutual aide ; whether they will so in a forraign Invasion ; (especially when the party assailed shall be of their own Religion.) For when the Interdiction of the Pope could draw against *John King of England* and (a) *Lewis the twelfth* a side of their own Subjects, (as it did after in the same Kingdom against *Henry the third*, though all three conformable in points of Religion to that See ; ) how much more will it work

Subjects obedient to the Popes Censure a dangerous Party.

(a) Ex *Europæ Hist.*



Danger by difference in Religion, in respect of the

Subjects

work with the people devoted to their opinions in a State divided from their obedience? For amongst us the *Catholick Church* hath many *Jesuits* to raise Faction, and divert people from duty; the *Recusants* many, and *Malecontents* not few; all which with war will discover themselves, but now by this happy calm unassured of assistance, lock up their riches in security, and their hearts in silence. And therefore by any enterprize, it is not with the rule of *Seneca* safe, *concitere felicem statum*. For by provoking of some adversary in respect of Papal protection, they pick advantage to ground a quarrel of Religion: and then the *sancta expeditio*, the holy expedition against *Lewis*, will be made *Bellum Sacrum*, a holy War against us.

But admitting no less than in former times an easiness to attempt; it is not a meditation unnecessary to think in general of the dangers and impossibilities to retain. For first we must more than transgress *Limites quos posuerunt Patres*, the Bounds which our Fathers owned; and relinquish that defence of Nature, wherewith she hath incircled, divided, and secured us from the whole world;

(a) (T)

(a) *(Te natura potens Pelago divisit ab omni Parte orbis, tuca us semper ab hoste fores.*

(a) *Festus A-  
menius.*

From all the Earth Nature hath parted thee  
With Seas, and set thee safe from Enemy.)

and commit our Frontiers ( had we never so much  
upon the next Continent ) to the protection of an  
Army, which besides the continual Charge, if we  
give Ambitious and able Commanders, ( as unable,  
for our Interest we will not, ) how ready shall it be  
in such a Leader, and so backt, if he please, to  
give Law to his own Countrey ? For Trifles will  
be quarrels good enough for such as can make  
them good by Power ; And whensoever means  
and Ambition leads any to trouble the State, he  
will be sure to colour his pretext with honest  
Titles. (b) *Alii, sicuti Jura populi defenderent ;*  
*Part, quo Senatus auctoritas maxima foret, bo-*  
*num publicum simulantes :* some declaring to  
maintain the rights of the People, others to uphold  
the authority of the Senate, all pretending to act  
for the publick good. Hence was it that Au-  
gustus (c) refused to add any more of the Bar-  
barous Nations to the body of his Empire, which  
with great facility he might have done ; (d) and  
to restrain that infinite and unsafe desire of enlarg-  
ing, left in Charge to his Successors that especial  
point of advice, (e) *coercendi intra Terminos*  
*Imperii,* to keep the Empire within due and fit-  
ting bounds. The like moderation from the same  
ground was in the late Queen, who refused the so-  
veraignty of the Netherlands, (f) so often and  
earnestly offered to her, fore-seeing well, that as

Danger of  
large Fron-  
tiers.

(b) *Salust. in  
Bello Catil.*

(c) *Suetonius  
in vita Au-  
gusti.*

(d) *Dion Caf-  
sius.*

(e) *Tacitus.*

(f) *Ex proposit.  
Statutum de  
anno 1585.*

her

What State  
may best ad-  
mit addition.

her State should grow more respective by addition of People, and augmentation of Territory; so Factions and Discontents (a common accident in worldly affairs) would arise from superfluity. The State that may best admit increase is that, unto which addition may be on every part indifferently. Such was the advantage of *Rome*, by being situate in the midst of *Europe*: whereas we are thrust out of the world; to which we have no other contiguity, than an unsure element of fluxible foundation, the Sea, subject to tempest, contrariety of wind, and more commodious for a potent enemy to intercept, than our selves to secure. For how large soever any Kingdom is, all great directions move from one place, commonly from one man, as the Heart in the Body. It is therefore necessary that the seat be so placed, that as well Intelligence as Dispatch may safely pass with indifferency and assured Speed: And those Forms are most quick and easie in motion, whose extreame ends are all equally distant from the Centre; for the more different from the Circle, the more slow and hard. *Rome* may sufficiently example this: For so long as the *Orbe* of that Empire so moved about her, all things kept on their course with order, and ease; but after the Seat was by (a) *Constantine* removed to an extremity of the Circle, it stood a while still, and in the end dissolved. For either through the mass of Business, the limitedness of any mans sufficiency, or impossibility to consider all due Circumstances but in *re presenti*, there must fall out infinite defects in the directions. Or if none, either by reason of Distance they come too late, or if not, by reason of remissness, he who is to execute will be bolder with his Instructions than

(a) *Zozimus*  
in vita *Constantini*.



than is fit for a Minister to be. How dangerous  
 is it then by addition of Territories for our Ma-  
 ster, (a) *Alterum pene Imperio nostro & suo* (a) *Velleius*  
*quarenti Orbem*, whilst he is seeking to joyn ano- *Paterc. de Ex-*  
 ther world, in a manner to his and our Empire, *peditione Ce-*  
 to alter either the settled order of directions, or *saris.*  
 walls of our security? Besides, as in the Frames  
 of Nature *Anima rationalis*, the rational soul can-  
 not *informare*, give life, sense, or discourse to  
 the matter of an *Elephant* or a *Fly*; (or any other  
 body disproportionable to a form so qualified:)  
 so is there as well a bound of amplitude and stric-  
 tness wherein the soul of Government is com-  
 prised; (b) Between which extreams there are (b) *Bodin. de*  
 many degrees of Latitude, some approaching to *Repub. lib. 6.*  
 the greatest (that nature seldome or never pro-  
 duceth) some to the least, and some to the mean;  
 beyond which proportions respectively though  
 some may have a will to affect, they never can  
 have a power to attain. And this we may see in  
 the former accession of so much to us in *France*,  
 which we could never either with Profit or Assu-  
 rance retain, being gotten by Conquest, and but  
 tacked to by Garrison, contrary to the nature of  
 Hereditary *Monarchies*. For some Kingdoms  
 (in which number this may be accounted) are of  
 the same condition that *Demosthenes* (c) maketh (c) *Ex stat.*  
 the *Athenians*: *Non ea vestra ingenia sunt, ut ipsi* *Demonstb. ad*  
*aliis vi oppressis Imperia teneatis; sed in eo magna* *Athenienses.*  
*sunt vires vestre, ut alium potiri principatu pro-*  
*hibeatis, aut potitum exturbetis*; It is not your  
 way, violently to oppress other States and seize the  
 Government; but in this is your strength mani-  
 fest, that you can hinder another from possessing  
 the Government, or when he is possessed of it,

Safety in  
Neutrality.

(a) Tacitus &  
Dion Cassius.

throw him out again. Since then by *Situation* and *Power* we are the fittest, either to combine or keep severall the most potent and warlike Nations of the *West*, it is the best for *Safety*, and the most for *Honour*, to remain as we were, *Arbiters* of *Europe*, and so by *Neutrality* sway still the Balance of our mightiest Neighbours : which by holding of our hands, and only looking on, we shall easily do, since *Spain* and *France* hang so indifferently, that a little weight will cast the Beam; imploying ours, as *Claudius* did his Forces in (a) *Germany*, *ut subsidio victis, Victoribus terrori essent, ne forte elati Pacem turbarent*, to assist the Conquered party, and to over-awe the Victor, lest he should be puffed up with pride, and disturb our peace. Thus did *Henry* the eighth with the *French* and *Spanish* Princes, using as his *Motto* of *Honour* and *Power* this, *Cui adhaereo praest*, He rules whom I stick to. And the late *Queen* studied rather how to guard her Allies, than to enlarge her Dominions, multiplying her Leagues more by giving than receiving gratuities : winking at her own wrongs, rather than willing to revenge. And (as the great Mistris of the world once) did what rather became her Greatness, than what severity of Armes required. Hence were her Seas for the most part freed from Pirates, and her Land here cleared of Enemies. For according to *Micipsae's* counsel to *Jugurth*, *Non exercitus, neque Thesauri praesidia Regni sunt* ; Neither Armies nor Treasure are the safety of a Kingdom : but such Allies as neither Armes constrain, nor moneys purchase, *sed officio & fide pariuntur*. And since by fortune of the times succeeding, this State hath grown more upon Opinion than Deed, and that

we

we know *Magis fama quam vi stare res nostras*,  
 that our affairs stand rather by Fame than Force;  
 it is most safe, neither to discover weakness, nor  
 hazzard los by any attempt. Besides, standing as  
 we do no wayes obnoxious by Site to any of our  
 Neighbours, they will alwayes be ready to referr  
 the judgement and order of their differences to us.  
 As the (a) *Brabanter*s and *Henowayes* did to the  
 Arbitrement of *Edward* the third: and (b) *Charles*  
 the fifth and *Francis* the French King the decision  
 of their quarrel to *Henry* the eighth. Thus every  
 part shall wooe us, all Princes by their Orators shall  
 resort unto us, as to the Common Consistory of  
 judgement in their debates, and thereby add more  
 to our Reputation than any power of our own.  
 For as well in States as in Persons, Suitors are an  
 infallible token of Greatness; which *Demosthenes*  
 (c) told the *Athenians* they had lost, since none  
 resorted to their *Curia* or *Prætorium*. By this  
 way shall we gain the Seat of Honour, Riches, and  
 Safety; and in all other but endless Expence,  
 Trouble and Danger.

Honour at-  
 tained by  
 Neutrality,  
 in being the  
 Arbitrer of all  
 differences  
 between the  
 mightiest  
 Neighbours.  
 (a) *Froissard.*  
 (b) *Ex Regist.*  
 & *libris Tra-*  
*statuum.*

(c) *Ex Demost.*  
 4 *Philip.*

Robert Cotton Bruceus.

FINIS.